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An Interlinear Analysis of Seven Kalispel Texts From Hans Vogt

Kelsi Camp
The University of Montana

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AN INTERLINEAR ANALYSIS OF SEVEN KALISPEL TEXTS FROM HANS VOGT

By

Kelsi Marie Camp

B.A. University of Montana, Missoula, Montana, 2000

Thesis

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Arts
in Linguistics

The University of Montana
Missoula, MT

Summer 2007

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AN INTERLINEAR ANALYSIS OF SEVEN KALISPEL TEXTS FROM
HANS VOGT

Chairperson: Dr. Anthony Mattina

This thesis is an interlinearization of seven Kalispel texts originally published in 1940 by Hans Vogt. The texts were published with sentence-by-sentence English translations but were not further analyzed by Vogt. Here, they are analyzed at the morpheme level, providing data for further research on the language and for language documentation and preservation purposes. The thesis includes an introductory section with background and methodology, the interlinearized texts, and a list of stems, affixes, and roots occurring in the texts.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the faculty, staff, and students of the Linguistics Department at the University of California, Santa Barbara. I am grateful for the experience of studying there for three years. I would also like to thank the faculty and students of the Linguistics Program at the University of Montana; Trace Stone, for the initial project-specific Toolbox setup; and Jeanie Castillo, for her organizational and moral support. Finally, Tony Mattina was an invaluable resource with his extensive knowledge of Interior Salishan languages and incredible patience, and this project would have been impossible without him. I am very fortunate to have been able to come back to Montana to study with him.
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**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>actual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANTIP</td>
<td>antipassive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART</td>
<td>article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CISLOC</td>
<td>cislocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLL</td>
<td>collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
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<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUST</td>
<td>customary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
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<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
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<td>INCH</td>
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<td>INSTR</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
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<td>INTJ</td>
<td>interjection</td>
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<td>INTERR</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
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<tr>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
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<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>oblique</td>
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<tr>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>optative</td>
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<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>passive</td>
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<tr>
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<td>plural</td>
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<tr>
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<td>possessive</td>
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<td>RECP</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>transitivizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANS</td>
<td>transitive subject</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Table 1: Vogt’s orthography (from Vogt 1940a:11)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>Spirants</th>
<th>Affricates</th>
<th>Sonants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>glottalized</td>
<td>non-glottalized</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Labials</strong></td>
<td>ũ</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dentals</strong></td>
<td>ŏ</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td>č</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ě</td>
<td>ě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lateral</strong></td>
<td>ź</td>
<td>ł</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mid-palatals</strong></td>
<td>k̆</td>
<td>k̆</td>
<td>x̆</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Post-palatals</strong></td>
<td>̆</td>
<td>q̆</td>
<td>x̆</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aspiration</strong></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the sonants may occur glottalized m w n y l.

# Table 2: Updated orthography (arranged after Vogt)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Stops</th>
<th>Spirants</th>
<th>Affricates</th>
<th>Sonants</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>glottalized</td>
<td>non-glottalized</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Labials</strong></td>
<td>ũ</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dentals</strong></td>
<td>ŏ</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td>č</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ě</td>
<td>ě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lateral</strong></td>
<td>ź</td>
<td>ł</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mid-palatals</strong></td>
<td>k̆</td>
<td>k̆</td>
<td>x̆</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Post-palatals</strong></td>
<td>̆</td>
<td>q̆</td>
<td>x̆</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aspiration</strong></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Glottalized sonants m w n y l

* Non-glottalized ź is not phonemic.

---

1 Vogt does not list the glottal stop (his symbol Ŧ) as a phoneme in his chart. In this study it is represented by the glottal stop symbol ʔ.
1.0 INTRODUCTION

This thesis presents an interlinear analysis of seven texts originally published in Hans Vogt’s (1940a) grammar of the Kalispel language. Kalispel is a Southern Interior Salish language in a dialect continuum with Flathead and Spokan that traditionally stretched through Eastern Washington, Northern Idaho, and Western Montana. In 1997 there were 200 speakers – all older adults – on the Kalispel Reservation in Washington and the Flathead Reservation in Montana (Gordon 2005). This thesis assumes a familiarity with Salishan languages and is not intended to provide a grammatical overview of the Kalispel language; for such, see Carlson’s (1972) grammar of Spokan, in addition to Vogt (1940a).

Section 2 of this thesis contains the interlinearized texts, and section 3 lists the stems that appear in the texts with glosses, roots, alternate forms, and any additional notes. That is followed by a list of affixes and, finally, a list of roots.

1.1 Background

Hans Vogt, a Norwegian linguist who had studied Armenian, Georgian, and other European and Caucasian languages in France and Norway, came to the United States in 1937 to spend a year studying with Edward Sapir and Leslie Spier at Yale University (Bergsland 1989). That summer, Vogt spent eleven weeks on the Kalispel Reservation in Pend Oreille County, Washington, collecting data for a reference grammar of the Kalispel language. During the last month of his stay on the reservation, he collected traditional and personal tales from an 85-year-old man called One-Eyed Tom, a prestigious storyteller. A monolingual speaker of Kalispel, One-Eyed Tom was “almost totally blind and rather deaf, but mentally still alert” (Vogt 1940a:8). Vogt also worked with a
bilingual teenager, Joe Abrahamson, who initially repeated One-Eyed Tom word for word while Vogt transcribed One-Eyed Tom’s Kalispel and Abrahamson’s English translation on the spot – there were apparently no audio recordings made. Vogt would also later check the texts and translations again with Abrahamson.

The collected texts – nineteen in all – included traditional animal stories and personal stories presumably from One-Eyed Tom’s life, and were published with the grammar and a dictionary (Vogt 1940a). The texts were arranged with the original Kalispel printed on one page and the sentence-by-sentence English translation printed on the facing page, as shown in Figure 1:

**Figure 1: Scanned image of pages 80-81 of Vogt 1940a**
Vogt labeled the stories with Roman numerals and divided them into seemingly-arbitrary numbered units of a few sentences each. Figures 2 and 3 show a closer view of the beginning of Text II.

II.

(1) esqēi ulhēnē u shāi. esēmēxgu hēhēhē ečaši tquėyē. ečentm īčān sqalmixē (sqalmixē?). īcintm hēiposposūt, yesxalitum hēqēqēscai.

(2) īcintm yē sqalmixē u aqestēnūm. cūit yē sqalmixē: gaqshēxē tsaqēnt. kuqumūm: sā, ṣečamčē. ēinsaymāt u qēsit u luqēqēsē. (3) hāi qēshā, qēsit u qēqešis. hāi qēšulāt, qēptšēlōmān, qēlēxēm ṣikāxē. xēlt hēqēqētē u qēłeśēqēšēlōmūm. (4) qēšāqēqētē īsēyān qēqešis u kēnt kūlū, sāxēs u išēqēšis xēlt hēqēqēqēshē (gaqshēxēqē*) īqēnāmēs īqēqēqē. (5) hāi kuqēhē, kēnt qēshāp. kēnt kētis īqēnāmēs u nēkēmā hēqēqē. hāi pūt hēqēqē*tē īsēyā xerūp. (6) hāi sēqēśiūs īqēnuwēt. īsē qēptšēp. kēnt pūt u qēqēšmē sēpānē, kuqēs yē īssēšē: bēšē mēkēmēmē miyē bēšē mēkēmēmē. (7) tēqēmēt u čińgēmēt u čińgēš. īqēnāmē īqēmē čińgēšēšēsē.

Figure 2: Detail of part of Text II (Vogt 1940a:80)

II.

(1) My father and my mother lived. My father was blind as I am. A man called on us. He said to my parents: I am coming after Quiquiscu.

(2) They said to the man: What are you going to do with him? The man said: We'll get some fish. They said to him: Well, get ready. I got ready, and we went to his canoe. (3) We paddled, we went and we pulled ashore. We walked, we had an axe, we got some pitch-wood. We got very much and we carried it back on our backs. (4) We went back to where the fire-place was going to be, and he fixed it. He split and tied together in bundles all our pitch-wood, which he put in our canoe. (5) The night came, we paddled. He took his spear and speared in the water after fish. When we had come straight opposite to our place (?), the morning came. (2) He divided the fish, we drifted along. Just as the sun came up over the hills, my friend said to me: You shall lie down over there, I'll lie down over here. (7) He lay down and I lay down and fell asleep. I felt as if (?) I was walking. I saw a dish lying. The dish was very

Figure 3: Detail of part of the English translation of Text II (Vogt 1940a:81)
Figure 2 shows the Kalispel text, and Figure 3 shows the corresponding English translation. The English translations, for the most part, line up with the original Kalispel text sentence by sentence. Vogt did not analyze the texts any further than this.

After his year in the United States, Vogt returned to Europe, where he resumed his work on Caucasian and European languages (see Bergsland 1989). With the exception of a short comparative study of Kalispel, Spokan, Colville, and Coeur d’Alene (1940b), Vogt produced no other works on Kalispel or Salishan languages.

1.2 Methods

Of the nineteen texts published with Vogt’s grammar, I analyzed seven of them – texts II through VIII (Vogt 1940a:80-93). (Text I had been analyzed by another student.) The texts were interlinearized using Field Linguist’s Toolbox, a shareware program distributed by SIL International. First, the Kalispel text was entered into the program along with the English translation. The text was entered as it appears in Vogt with only minor orthographic changes – Vogt’s superscript u was changed to w; Vogt’s sub-dot and super-dot, indicating glottalized consonants, were changed to ’; and Vogt’s glottal stop ‘ was changed to the glottal stop symbol ?. Orthographic changes include the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vogt</th>
<th>current</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m̂ (and similar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x̆</td>
<td>x̆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cu</td>
<td>CW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A sentence from the fifth section of text II, for example, which originally appeared in Vogt (1940a:80) as hói kuku’éc, k’ént qe’laáp, was initially transcribed as:
(1) hói kukuʔéc, kʷémt qeʔlaáp.

This text line was then updated more significantly to reflect current orthographic and word-division practices. Vogt did not indicate rounding of velar and post-velar consonants before or after rounded vowels, and many morphemes that Vogt wrote as prefixes are now considered clitics or free words. The text in (1), then, was retranscribed as follows:

(2) hóy kʷukʷuʔéc, kʷémt qeʔ laáp.

The i in hói was changed to its non-syllabic counterpart y, unrounded k in kukuʔéc was changed to kʷ, and the proclitic qeʔ appears as a separate word. The sentence in (2) now reflects current word-division and orthographic practices and is ready to be analyzed at the morpheme level.

To highlight the grammar of the language, this study focuses on inflectional rather than derivational morphology. Inflectional affixes are indicated by a hyphen (-) and are analyzed in the morpheme line. Derivational and word-formation morphemes are marked with a plus sign (+) but are not labeled or further analyzed in the interlinearization. Segmentable parts of words may have historical significance, and many derivational affixes are very productive with transparent meanings (such as eɬ- ‘have’ and eɬ- ‘again, back’), but they are nevertheless left unanalyzed here. Lexical affixes (referred to by Vogt as “field-suffixes” [1940a:51]) are indicated with a double hyphen (=). For practical purposes, clitics appear as separate words in this analysis. Segments that I do not know how to analyze are marked with a question mark (?) or asterisks (**). Glosses for forms were primarily found in the dictionary included at the end of the Vogt grammar.

---

2 The exceptions are the transitivizers, derivational suffixes that are marked with a hyphen and individually identified in the interlinearization.
and in the Spokane Dictionary (Carlson et al.), or, in the many cases where no glosses could be found, were suggested by Dr. Anthony Mattina.

An interlinearization project such as this is a never-ending learning process; analyses are chosen based on the knowledge the researcher has at the time, and, as that knowledge grows, better analyses are often found that supersede the previous analyses. There will undoubtedly be many instances of this in my interlinearization of the texts presented here, not to mention mistakes, but I hope that, overall, this analysis presents an accurate reflection of the grammar of the Kalispel language.

1.3 Project Significance

These texts, as far as I know, have not been subject to any large-scale interlinearization before this project. Interlinear analyses of texts are valuable for language documentation and linguistic analysis, providing researchers with data for syntactic, pragmatic, and other grammatical studies. These texts also provide historical and cultural information and, presented here in a continuous format with a current orthography, may prove useful to current speakers of Kalispel and those involved in language revitalization projects, as they could be used to create language teaching materials. Because derivational and word-formation affixes are not separately analyzed, the resulting interlinearization may be easier to read and more accessible to non-linguists.

It is my hope that the remaining unanalyzed Vogt texts will be interlinearized and, along with the texts from this study, will aid future work on the Kalispel language.
2.0 TEXTS

The interlinearized texts are presented in this section, labeled with Vogt’s Roman numerals and internal numbering system (II.001 indicates the first section of the second text). The first line is the Kalispel text as it appears in Vogt with minor necessary orthographic changes, as described in the introduction. The second line is the updated Kalispel with current orthographic and word-division practices. The third line shows the Kalispel analyzed into stems and inflectional affixes, with the next line giving glosses for those. This is followed by a line giving the English translation of the Kalispel sentence or clause.

2.1 Text II

II.001

esqéi uɬinlʔéu u skúi.
esqéy uɬinlʔéu u skuw
es+qéy3 uɬ4= hin lʔéu u s+kwy
people.live COLL= 1SG.POSS- father and mother

My father and my mother lived.

esćinamqín ɬuʔinlʔéuʔ ečaší tquyeʔé.
esćinamqín ɬuʔ inlʔéuʔ ečaší t quyyeʔé
es- čnm=qin ɬuʔ hin lʔéu ec+ʔaší t quyyeʔé
ACT- blind ART 1SG.POSS- father like OBL 1SG

My father was blind as I am.

---

3 This form, a stylized story opener (see also texts IV, V, VII, and VIII), is analyzed here as a lexicalized unit.
4 The collective-possessive sequence here is unexpected, possibly an instance of a derivational morpheme (the lexical prefix uɬ= ‘COLL’) occurring outside of an inflectional morpheme (hin= ‘1SG.POSS’). For another occurrence of the collective prefix, see V.013.
A man called on us.

He said to my parents:

I am coming after Quiquiscu.

They said to the man: What are you going to do with him?

5 Parenthetical forms such as this represent “probable conjectures” on Vogt’s part (1940a:80) and were apparently not in the original utterances.

6 This is an example of truncation, a well-known feature of Kalispel, where material is lost after the stressed vowel. Other examples in these texts include the name q"iq"iscú (q"y+q"y+scut) and nté ‘think’ (nt=els). See Vogt note 26 (1940a:17).

7 The plural infix -ʔ- is not segmented here or elsewhere.

8 The realization of the possessive and actual prefixes here (yes-) is homophonous to, for example, forms in V.021, ‘He was watching’, which do not contain the first person possessive prefix.

9 The surface form of the first person singular possessive prefix here (y-) is different from the underlying form (hin-). Variant forms are listed in section 3.2 with their underlying forms.
The man said:

We'll get some fish.

They said to meI0. Well, get ready.

I got ready, and we went to his canoe.

We paddled, we went and we pulled ashore.

---

I0 Vogt has the translation as “They said to him…” (1940a:81), corrected here to reflect the first person object of the Kalispel.
hóí qeʔtkuʔút, qeʔepʻšiləmín, qeʔtíxʷəm tsλčúkʷəʔ.

We walked, we had an axe,

qeʔ? tíxʷəm t sλčúkʷəʔ
qeʔ? tixʷ+ m t s+X+čúkʷ+əʔ
1PL.INTR obtain.INTR OBL pitch.wood

we got some pitch-wood.

xuʔít uʔqeʔsctixʷ u qeʔe4kʷə+qʷé+tməntəm.
much ART 1PL.POSS gathered.stuff

We got very much

u qeʔ? e4kʷə+qʷé+tməntəm
u qeʔ? e+qʷ+qʷé+t+m -nt -m
and 1PL.INTR carry.back.PL.on.back -TR -1PL.TRANS

and we carried it back on our backs.

II.004

qeʔeiʔáp 4ulšéyú qeʔeso·ús
We went back to where the fire-place was going to be,

u kʷémt kúlis.

and he fixed it.
He split and tied together in bundles all our pitch-wood, which he put in our canoe.


He took his spear and speared in the water after fish.

hóy pút 4ulquestxtóxt lšéyu ŝa·lip.

When we had come straight opposite to our place (?), the morning came.
He divided the fish,

\begin{align*}
išeʔ & \text{ qeʔpəl}\text{(13).} \\
& \text{DEM} \quad 1\text{PL.} \quad \text{intr.} \quad \text{drift.along} \\
\end{align*}

we drifted along.

\begin{align*}
kʷ́ěmt & \text{ pút u qscXeʔčəmí sʔqaní, kucúis yé tisəľá:} \\
& \text{and.then just} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{FUT-} \quad \text{rise.} \quad \text{CISLOC} \quad \text{-FUT} \quad \text{sun} \quad 1\text{SG.} \quad \text{OBJ} \quad \text{say} \quad \text{-TR} \quad \text{-3TRANS} \\
yé t & \text{ isəľá} \\
ye t & \text{ hin-} \quad 1\text{SG.} \quad \text{poss-} \quad \text{friend} \\
\end{align*}

Just as the sun came up over the hills, my friend said to me:

\begin{align*}
təl & \text{ mkʷctkʷəncút miyé tafəʔé mčintkʷəncú} \\
& \text{from here} \quad \text{FUT} \quad 2\text{SG.} \quad \text{intr.} \quad \text{lie.down} \quad *** \quad \text{from here} \quad \text{FUT} \quad 1\text{SG.} \quad \text{intr.} \quad \text{lie.down} \\
\end{align*}

You shall lie down over there, I'll lie down over here.

\text{12} Question marks in parentheses in the translations indicate Vogt's doubts about the translation (1940a:81).
\text{13} There appears to be a typesetting error here in Vogt (1940a:80), with the space (and apparently the dot and stress mark) for an i, although the character is not there. The form is listed in Vogt's dictionary as \text{pəfip} (156), so I have added the \text{i} here.
He lay down and I lay down and fell asleep.

I felt as if (?) I was walking.

The dish was very far from here.

Oh, I hesitated.

---

14 The prefix l- in this form is unexplained.
Oh, I want to step over in this direction.

I made a step, then I went down (in the water).

My friend woke up.

I had disappeared from the canoe.

The canoe was moving.

My friend looked around.
There was some movement in the water.

He thought I had drowned,

and just in front of him I came up again.

Then he grabbed me by the hair before (I went down again).

I looked at him from the water and stuck out my tongue.

---

15 The inchoative infix -ʔ- is not segmented here or elsewhere.
16 The initial character here is not clear in the original Vogt. It is analyzed as an I here by analogy with II.004 and II.005, although it could possibly be meant to be a t.
I was not awake, and when I had stuck out my tongue, I woke up

and then I got scared, and tried to get up in the canoe again.

When I had got up in the canoe, he paddled as hard as he could to their house.

I felt very cold.
Then we came back to their house, and I warmed myself.

That's the end.
2.2 Text III

yé nkúʔ pút ičis⁺kʷkoʔúməʔ.
yé nk”úʔ pút i či s⁺kʷkoʔúməʔ
yé nk”uʔ pút_i čn s⁺k”yúm=ɐ?

One year, I was still a kid.

kʷémʔ taʔaṣamistén 4uʔstəfqém.
kʷémʔ taʔ aṣamistén 4uʔ stəfqém
kʷémʔ ta’es miy st en 4uʔ s+tfq+em

Then I did not know how to dance.

činséuneʔ qstəfqamí.
čin séuneʔ qstəfqamí
čn séw=neʔ qs− tfq+em i

I heard there was going to be a dance.

séuneʔ 4uʔinpo=xpo xuút u kucúntəm:
séuneʔ 4uʔ inpo=xpo xuút u k”u cu n ənt n m

My parents heard it and said to me:

tá kʷqeʔesxúi, mí‡ ik”qʷéuu,
tá kʷ qeʔesx”uy mí‡ i k” qʷéuu
ta kʷ qeʔ es x”uy mí‡ i k” q”ew+w

You shall not go, you are too crazy,
Then I thought: I wish I could see it, and then I stole away.

When the night fell,

I joined all the people who were going.

I went in and saw crowds of people.

\[\text{šin}, \text{analyzed as the root here, is identical to and probably cognate with the lexical suffix } =\text{šn} \text{ ‘foot’}\]
hói činlémť ɬuʔwíčtan ɬiʔé cítxʷ wísšan.

I was glad when I saw this long house.

hói təl/qém ɬuʔ sqélixʷ u kucúntəm:

The people danced and said to me:

I got tired, sat down; fell over and fell asleep.
As they were going to dance, they woke me up because everyone has to be awake.

I got up, I walked around in the room, I was the blue-jack.

I did not know that I did it dreaming.

I woke up and got bashful for all these people.
When I woke up, I wanted to go out, but they said to me: No.

Then when they had finished, I wanted to go out, but they said to me: No.

They said to me: They'll leave when they have eaten.

I sat down,
food was prepared and the people ate.

Then they gave me much food to take home (??).

When they left, it was already morning.

I went home and went in again.

---

18 e¹kʷəči is analyzed here as a mistake for e¹qʷəči. –či is probably the lexical suffix =ičn ‘back’.
My parents asked me:

čəčéŋ u kʷesalcíʔ?  
čə  čéŋ  u  kʷ  esalciʔi  
č  čeŋ  u  kʷ  es-  lciʔ -i

to where and 2SG.INTR CONT- in.here -CONT

Where have you been?

III.009

hóí cún:  
hóy  cún  
hoy  cu -n  
then  say -1SG.TRANS

I said:

čəšéʔi u činesxúi čestəfqamí.  
čə  šéʔi  u  čin  esx"uí  č  estəfqamí  
č  šéʔi  u  čn  es-  x"uy -i  č  es-  tfq+em -i

to that and 1SG.INTR CONT- go -CONT to CONT- dance -CONT

I was going to the dance.

hóí kucúis 4uʔtinféu:  
hóy  kʷu  cúis  4uʔ  t  inféu  
hoy  kʷu  cu -nt -s  4uʔ  t  hin-  lʔéu  
then 1SG.OBJ say -TR -3TRANS ART OBL 1SG.Poss- father

My father said to me:
If I ask and hear from someone that you have done crazy things,

mčəncín,

m čəncín

m č’ -nt -si -n

FUT whip -TR -2SG.OBJ -TR

I'll whip you,

xʷaf wé xe?nnccín u kʷkʷə+nqomí.

xʷaf wé xe?nnccín u kʷ kʷə+nqomí

xʷf we xe?n -nt -si -n u kʷ kʷə+nqom+í

because although forbid -TR -2SG.OBJ -1SG.TRANS and 2SG.INTR leave.suddenly

because I told you not to go and you stole away.

III.010

hói tu?čelúxʷ,

hóy tu? čelúxʷ

hoy tu? čluxʷ

then ART evening

When the evening came,

tá sséune? u kʷémt ta’ kus+cántés.

tá sséune? u kʷémt tá kʷu s+cántés

ta s+séw=ne? u kʷémt ta kʷu s- č’ -nt -es

NEG hear.something and and.then NEG 1SG.OBJ ***19- whip -TR -3TRANS

he had not heard anything, and did not whip me.

19 This s– could be the es– ‘ACTUAL’ prefix.
šéyu hóí.
šéyu hóy
šéyu hoy
DEM stop

That's the end.
2.3 Text IV

IV.001

yéʔesqéi.
yéʔesqéy
ye es+qéy
this there.is.a.house

There was a house.

epɬčičiyéʔ.
epɬčičiyéʔ
epɬ+čy+čiy=éʔ
have.a.grandmother

He had a grandmother.

hóy kʷémt tänkʷá nqʷɑŋhɑmíʔs ɬuʔ čičiyéʔs ɬé s póx póxút.
hóy kʷémt t nqʷɑŋhɑmíʔs ɬuʔ čičiyéʔs
hoy kʷërmt t nqʷ=asq t n+qʷn+n+mi −s ɬuʔ čiy+ciy=éʔ −s
then and.then OBL one.day pity -TRANS ART grandmother -POSS
ɬuʔ x/haceknospt λ̃w̃čičiy/apostrophesupnospéʔs
ɬuʔ x/haceknospt λ̃w̃čicy+čiy/apostrophesupnosp=éʔ −s
ART because now old

One day he pitied his grandmother, because she was now very old.

cúis yé čičiyéʔs:
cúis yé čičiyéʔs
cu -nt -s ye čy+čiy=éʔ -s
say -TR -TRANS this grandmother -POSS

He said to her:

hóy činxʷíst.
hóy čin xʷíst
hoy čn xʷíst
then 1SG.INTR walk

I'll go.
The next morning he got ready,

and said to his grandmother:

I'll get someone to help you.

Then the young man walked away.

He came to an open field where people were gathering camas.
The young man sat down.

While they were digging,

he looked around and saw someone and said:

The one with the red shirt is going to be my wife.

He went, many people were working. He came up to her, she talked to him.
cúntəm:
cúntəm
cu -nt -m
say -TR -PASS

and said:

éxʷ, təʔé u kʷesxʷstaluísi.
exʷ t ʔe u kʷ es- xʷst+lwis -i
INTJ OBL here and 2SG.INTR CONT- walk.around -CONT

Hallo, so you are walking around here?

cúis: é···· kuyescúwétəm kʷiqsəmʔém.
cúis é···· kʷ yescúwétəm kw
 cu -nt -s é kʷ hin- es- ĝwet+m kw
say -TR -3TRANS yes 2SG.INTR 1SG.POSS- ACT- go.after.INTR 2SG.INTR

iqsəmʔém
hin- qɬ- s+mʔem
1SG.POSS- to.be- woman

He answered: Yes, I come for you, you are going to be my wife.

IV.005

hói ʔáčəxstəm ɬiʔé tsxšcúcuts u cúntəm:
hóy ʔáčəxstəm ɬiʔé t sšxšcúts u cú
hoy ʔacx -st -m ɬiʔé t s+šc+šc+ut -s u cu -n
then look -TR -PASS this OBL companions -3POSS and say -1SG.TRANS

séuntəm
sew -nt -m
ask -TR -PASS

Her companions watched them and said to her and asked her:

20 The form here may be a false start for the passive form cúntəm.
What is that young man saying to you?

cúís: kuʔescúnams: kuyescúwétəm kʷiqsəmʔém.
cúís  kʷu  ?escúnams  kʷ
cu  -nt  -s  kʷu  es-  cu+n+m  -s  kʷ
say  -TR  -3TRANS  1SG.OBJ  ACT-  say  -3POSS  2SG.INTR

yescúwétəm  kʷ  iqšamʔém
hin-  es-  昶wet+m  kʷ  hin-  q4-  s+m+ʔem
1SG.PASS-  ACT-  go.after.INTR  2SG.INTR  1SG.PASS-  to.be-  woman

She said: He tells me: I come for you, you are going to be my wife.

xʷaᵠ xeʔi 4iʔé səxəxcúts 4iʔé semʔém.
xʷaᵠ xeʔey 4iʔé səxəxcúts 4iʔé semʔém
xʷa+xeʔ+ey 4iʔé s+əx+əx+ut  -s  4iʔé s+m+ʔem
laugh  this  companions  -3POSS  this  woman

The woman's companions laughed,

čxʷaxeʔeyəmíntəm 4iʔé 4tətəwít.
čxʷaxeʔeyəmíntəm 4iʔé 4tətəwít
č+xʷa+xʷeʔ+ey+mín  -nt  -m  4iʔé 4+t+tə+it
laugh.PL  -TR  -PASS  this  young.boy

they laughed at the young man.

IV.006

cúntəm 4iʔé  tsəxəxláxts  səmʔém:
cúntəm  4iʔé  t  səxəxəxənts  səmʔém
cu  -nt  -m  4iʔé  t  s+əxə+fəxt  -s  s+m+ʔem
say  -TR  -PASS  this  OBL  friends  -3POSS  woman

The woman's friends said to her:
Go and follow him and then after a short while, turn back.

The[n] she followed him a little while, and the woman's companions said to her:

Do you really believe him and go home with him?(?)
Turn back. But then the young man grabbed the woman and held her tight.

They went up to him and tried to take his hands off her,

but he said: I won't let you go,

She said: No, I have a husband -- a man-eater.
The young man said to her:

*suwét ɬuʔasqaltəmíxʷ?
suwét ɬuʔ asqaltəmíxʷ
swet ɬuʔ han- s+qlt+mixʷ*

Who is your husband?

She said to him: The thunder is already my husband.

*ha+há -st -m kʷəšéʔ ta kʷepsqaltəmíxʷ.
ha+há -st -m kʷ+šeʔ ta kʷ epɬ+s+qlt+mixʷ*

He laughed, no, you have no husband.

She said: No, you might die.

*cu -nt -s kʷəšéʔ ta kʷepsqaltəmíxʷ.*
 cu -nt -s kʷ+šeʔ ta kʷ epɬ+s+qlt+mixʷ*

He said: No, you have no husband.
Another woman stood over there.

He started holding her still tighter.

Then she said:

Let me go now, you might die.

He said: No,
kʷémt: tá kʷépsqaltəmíxʷ.  

kʷémt tá kʷ epštəmíxʷ 
and.then NEG 2SG.INTR have.a.husband

you have no husband.

IV.011

ʔiʔé číná səmʔém ʔiʔé ?ecsuíš, cúti:

this one.person woman this stand.SG she.said

The other woman who stood over there, she said:

pppuwá, pppuwá
pppuwá pppuwá
pppuwá pppuwá
pppooa pppooa
pppooa, pppooa

má kʷémt ʔé kʷesənmiyépəm.

má kʷemt ʔé kʷ esənmiyépəm
INTJ and.then already 2SG.INTR ACT- told.on

Look, you are being told on already.

ʔiʔé wiʔsqʷəlqʷél ʔiʔé səmʔém,

this finish.talking this woman

And as the woman finished talking:

21 The form for 'have a husband' here is recorded with xʷ but all other instances have xʷ.
The sky darkened.

Then all of a sudden, as the thunder came straight over their heads,

he roared.
She said: Let me go now, please,

\[\text{xí né k"xíl.}\]
\[\text{xí né k"xíl}\]
\[\text{xí_ne_k"xíl}\]

lest 2SG.INTR dead

I won't let you go,

\[\text{tamá k"iqsambilém.}\]
\[\text{tamá k"iqsambilém}\]
\[\text{tma k"hin-qs+m+em}\]

because you are going to be my wife.

\[\text{čx"təpamíntam tṣałtaláʔm 4iʔé sx"afótsq.}\]
\[\text{čx"təpamíntam tṣałtaláʔm 4iʔé sx"afótsq}\]
\[\text{č+x"t+p+min -nt -m t s+tl+tl=aʔ+m 4iʔé s+x"af=ot=qs}\]

jump.on -TR -PASS OBL thunder this prarie.rabbit

The thunder fell upon the rabbit.

\[\text{iv.013}\]

\[\text{4iʔé ččiʔtamíntam u təncqúsəm ičiliyálsəm.}\]
\[\text{4iʔé ččiʔtamíntam u təncqúsəm ičiliyálsəm}\]
\[\text{4iʔé č+čiʔt+mín -nt -m u t n+cq=us+m i č+yl+yal=s+m}\]

this go.near.to -TR -PASS and OBL look.up PART look.at.with.big.eyes

As he came quite close, the rabbit looked up at him, with eyes wide open.
The thunder stopped and got scared, turned around, and fell upon him for the second time.

As he came close up to him, again the rabbit looked up at him, with eyes wide open, and the thunder got scared.

The thunder stopped there and said to the young man:

Go, have pity on me,
give me my wife back!

If you had asked for pity at once,

I should have given her back to you.

The thunder said to him:

I love her, you must give her back to me.

Then the young man said:
há... kuntá néxʷ iq̕ʷxámé.
ha perhaps(?) also 1SG.PASS- to.be- love

Ha! perhaps I'll love her too!
2.4 Text v

esqéi nkʷéxʷ.
esqéy nkʷéxʷ
es+qéy nkʷ=exʷ
there.is.a.house one.house

There was a house.

séuneʔ tesiyapqíni (rec. tesiyapqíni).
séunet t esiyapqíni
sév=neʔ t es+yapq=ín+í
hear.something OBL powwow

They heard about a pow-wow.

čəmí sqalqaltəmíxʷ u nkʷéxʷ.
čəmí sqalqaltəmíxʷ u nkʷéxʷ
cmi s+ql+qlt+mixʷ u nkʷ=e̱xʷ
only men and one.house

In one house there were only men.

cúis yé tčiná:
cúis yé t činá
cu -nt -s ye t č=naqs
say -TR -3TRANS this OBL one.person

The one said to the other:

hói kúliš qaqstíɬəm.
hóy kʷúlī́š23 qa qstíɬəm
hoy kʷul -š qeʔ q= s+ti̱+m
then work -SG.INTR.IMP 1PL.POSS to.be- boat

Make a canoe for us!

22 The form for ‘powwow’, occurring in a position normally occupied by nouns, is analyzed here and throughout as a noun lexicalized with verbal affixes still attached. An occurrence in V.008, however, is analyzed as a verbal form.

23 The i in this word is possibly an intransitive stem-forming suffix +m, underlying /kʷúl+m-š/ realized as [kʷúltš].
His friend asked: What are we going to do?

He said: We'll go to the pow-wow.

Then he made a canoe.

After a few days, he had the canoe all ready.

They set it on the water.
It was mighty fine.

cúntəm yé tsałáxts uĺčení u qaqsʔaxíli.

qaʔ qaqsʔaxíli
1PL.INTR FUT- do -FUT

His friend asked him: How are we going to do?

támá lesʔústi u esi yapqííi (?)

He dived,

iltšení eʰteʔékʷ,

after a short while he came up again
cúis yé səłáłts: qaqsqʷíli.

and said to his friend: We'll cheat.

ɬx/haceknospúnt cí qeʔstíɬəm.

Make a hole in (the bottom of) our canoe.

He made a hole in their canoe.

Then they measured the hole, so that he could breathe when he stuck his head through the hole.
He finished it, whittled a stick and stuck it in the hole.

There was a big lake, and they went along in the canoe.

The lake turns and there they passed by.

As they came closer to it, they saw someone sitting who looked like a man.

One of them recognized him:
Oh, he looks like coyote.

The other one said to him: Don't pay any attention to him, he might get us into trouble.

They passed exactly opposite the place where coyote was sitting.

Coyote was watching:
Where are you going, where are you going?

We are going to the pow-wow.

Oh, that's fine, I'll go with you.

They said to him: If you have got red paint.

He said: I have got some red paint.

If you have got white clay.
I have got some white clay.

They went up to him.

They paddled (on again),

went to a turn of the lake,

came in sight, there the pow-wow was going to be held.

---

24 The final –n in this form is unexpected and unexplained.
Coyote said to his friends:

hói yé ləʔé mkuccíʔlš.

Now let us camp here.

They camped.

The next morning,

he said to one of them: Come!

He went up to him and sat down.

25 The original translation in Vogt reads “Coyote said to this friends”, a minor typographical error that is corrected here.
He fixed him,

fixed the head with red paint.

When he had finished it:

Oh, how he looks fine!

Then he called the other one,
When he had finished, he made his friends sit down.

They both looked very beautiful.

Then he took his own brown paint.

---

26 Vogt neglects to mark stress on this word (1940a:86) but by analogy with the occurrence in v.009 I am marking it on the last syllable.
kʷémít nπqúčinéčstəmis u nsíxuʔsts tséu+kʷ u iilkʷis yé sčuˑcuwáxís u skʷəƛúús.
kʷémít nπqúčinéčstəmis u
kʷemít n+þu=čn=éčst+m -nt -s u
and.then in.palm.of.hand -TR -3TRANS and
nsíxʷuʔsts t séu+kʷ u
n+þxʷ+uʔ -st -s t sew+=kʷ u
pour -TR -3TRANS OBL water and
yílkʷis yé sčuˑcuwáxís u skʷəƛúús
yilkʷ -nt -s ye s+čw+čw=añn -s u s+kʷƛ=us
rub -TR -3TRANS this arms -3POSS and face

scattered it out in the palm of his hand, mixed it with water and rubbed his arms and face with it.

v.011

ʔuʔkúlis, cúis yé səƛ̓xaláxts:
ʔuʔ kʷúlis cúis yé səƛ̓xaláxts
ʔuʔ kʷúl -nt -s cu -nt -s ye s+fxa+łaxt -s
ART work -TR -3TRANS say -TR -3TRANS this friends -3POSS

Doing so, he said to his friends:

šéʔi ʔuʔquyeʔé inkʷəńčstəmístan.
šéʔi ʔuʔ qʷuyeʔé inkʷəńčstəmístan
šéʔi ʔuʔ qʷuyeʔé hin– kʷn=čst+mist+(t)n
that ART 1SG 1SG.POSS– try.by.hand

This is my fixing.

cúis yé səƛ̓xaláxts:
cúis yé səƛ̓xaláxts
cu -nt -s ye s+fxa+łaxt -s
say -TR -3TRANS this friends -3POSS

He said to his friends:
We will start this custom for the generations to come.

When it gets more people, they shall do as we have done now, when they gather for gambling and some people camp.

They paddled along

and just as the sun had mounted a little on the sky, they got in sight.

They saw them coming.

---

27 Vogt’s conjecture is analyzed here.
He said to them: there is the camp,

xú xú xú xú
xʷú xʷú xʷú xʷú
all.right all.right all.right all.right
fine, fine.

Then they told their names.

The wood-pecker with his friends - the wood-duck and coyote - came in order to gamble, all three of them.
The two men - the wood-pecker and the wood-duck - were very much envied and admired.

They pulled ashore, went ashore
and sat down.

Somebody said: The wood-pecker shall be matched against the moose.

The wood-duck was told
tsaneč4ce? tšilšéʔústəm.
t s+néč=4ce? tš+ilš=éws -st -m
OBL cow.elk oppose -TR -PASS

to be matched against the elk.

cúntəm sənčafé:
cúntəm sənčafé
cu -nt -m s+n+čl=ep
say -TR -PASS coyote

Coyote was told:

tpuwélsčan tšilšéʔūstamt.
t puwélsčan tšilšéʔūstamt
t pw=els=čn tš+ilš=éws -st -m -t
OBL buck oppose -TR -2SG.OBJ -1PL.TRANS

We will match you against the buck.

v.015

cú tá sənčafé.
cú tá sənčafé
cu ta s+n+čl=ep
say NEG coyote

Coyote said: No.

cúntəm: xúł, tstiye.
cúntəm xʷúł t stiyé
cu -nt -m xʷuł t s+tye
say -TR -PASS all.right OBL caribou

They said: All right then, against the caribou.

cú: tá***.
cú tá
cu ta
say NEG

He said: No.
Coyote said: We will gamble with the buffalo-cow as stake.

They talked it over and said:

Oh, that's too good food.

They said: It's all right for him,

only his friends matter (?).
When we beat them,

we'll kill coyote

and throw away this coyote

and eat only his friends.

They said: All right, we'll match this coyote against the buffalo.
He said: All right.

The beaver was going to be their opponent in the contest.

In the middle of the water two poles were stuck.

There they used to dive.

They went out to the poles in the water.
The wood-pecker said:

pan iqeʔesəmím mqeʔšíp,  
pan iqeʔesəmím m qeʔ šíp

pan hin- qeʔ- es- miy+m m qeʔ šíp

but 1SG.POSS- Fut- Act- know.INTR Fut 1PL.INTR lose

But I want to know for sure when we get beat,

kʷémt ye lsčsáxams 4iʔé lešəncälətkʷ mčínəc4cətlkʷ.

kʷémt ye l sčsáxams 4iʔé lešəncälətkʷ

kʷémt ye l s+č+saʔ+m -s 4iʔé lešəncälətkʷ

and.then this LOC near -3POSS this LOC pole.in.water

m čin esč+cətlkʷ.

m čn es- č+c=etkʷ

FUT 1SG.INTR Cust- on.water

so I'll be sitting here in the boat, close to the poles in the water.

hóy xúʔuʔiʔusʔúʔst.

hóy xʷúʔuy ʔusʔúʔst

hoy xʷúʔuy ʔusʔúʔst+t

then go.PL dive.PL

They went and dived.

kʷémt u lənkʷálqʷ 4uʔsqaléʔu u lənkʷálqʷ 4uʔttqʷéneʔ.

kʷémt u l nkʷálqʷ 4uʔ sqaléʔu u l

kʷémt u l nkʷ=alqʷ 4uʔ s+qal=éw u l

and.then and LOC one.pole ART beaver and LOC

nkʷálqʷ 4uʔ ttqʷéneʔ

nkʷ=alqʷ 4uʔ ttqʷéneʔ

one.pole ART wood.duck

There was one pole for the beaver, and one for the wood-duck.
As soon as they had dived, they were watched in the water from the boat.

He (i.e. the wood-pecker) saw the wood-duck coming swimming towards him carefully.

He took out the plug

and the wood-duck stuck his head up in the hole, and held it there.

The pole in the water belonging to the beaver moved.
After a little while (?), the duck when down again,

and then move -TR -3TRANS this 3SG

and moved his own pole.

When he had moved it, he came up again

and stuck his head again through the hole in their canoe.

It was noon, and nobody had come up to the surface.

---

28 Here the prefix ep- ‘have’ is attached to a stem that is formed with the prefix es- ‘ACTUAL’. ep- in this case is similar in meaning to ‘there is’.
A little while after noon (?), bubbles appeared,

npuʔétkum sqaléʔu.

the beaver had farted in the water.

On the shore was coyote,

wíčis ɬiʔé npuʔétkum sqaléʔu

he saw that the beaver had farted in the water

u čoʔším, cú: hoi npuʔétkum.

shouted and said: Now he farted.

cúti: čeʔ tčeʔ4és qsənpuʔétkum

cúti čeʔ t čeʔ4és qsənpuʔétkum

cú+t+i čeʔ t čeʔ4és qs- n+puʔ=étkw+m

He said: He'll fart in the water three more times,
mčɬtk[wsuperk/commasuprightnosp/wsuperétk/wsuper.
m čɬtk/wsuperk/commasuprightnosp/wsuper=etk/wsuper
FUT  come.to.surface.of.water

and then he'll come up.

cúti ṭuʔsənčəfé:
cúti ṭuʔ  sənčəfé
cú+t+i ṭuʔ  s+n+č=ep
he.said  ART  coyote

Coyote said:

sisiyús ṭuʔttq"éneʔ?,
sisiyús ṭuʔ  ttq"éneʔ?
si+t+i ṭuʔ  ttq"éneʔ?
smart  ART  wood.duck

The duck is good,

éxʷ xʷaʔsʔitši.
éxʷ xʷaʔ  esʔitši
ext xʷaʔ  es-ʔitš -i
INTJ  maybe  CONT- sleep -CONT

he must be sleeping!

hói kʷémt yesʔáčałə  sənčəfé u imál.
hóy kʷémt  yesʔáčałə  sənčəfé  u  i  máf
hoy kʷémt  i  es-ʔačəx  s+n+č=ep  u  i  mał
then and.then  PART  ACT- look  coyote  and  PART  bubble

Coyote was watching, and it bubbled.

áʔiʔ ʔesél sʔpuʔúm,
áy ʔesél  sʔpuʔúm
ay ʔesél  s+puʔ+úm
oh two  fart

Oh, he farted for the second time,
čé? təʔesél qsʔúʔúm.
čé? t ?esél qsʔúʔúm
če? tʔesél qspʔ+úm
yet OBL two FUT- fart

he'll fart two more times.

kʷémít yesʔáčəx, yesʔáčəx,
kʷémít yesʔáčəx yesʔáčəx
kʷémít i es- ʔačx i es- ʔačx
and.then PART ACT- look PART ACT- look

He was watching, watching,

tá sqasíp u ye+ máľ
tá sqasíp u ye+ máľ
tá s+qasíp u i e+ máľ
not.long and PART bubble.again

and very soon it bubbled again.

u čé? tənkúʔ qspʔúʔúm u mɛ+tkʷkʷétkʷ.
u čé? t nkʷúʔ qsʔúʔúm u m č+tkʷkʷétkʷ
u čé? t nkʷuʔ qsp- ãuʔ+úm u m č+tkʷ+kʷ=etkʷ
and yet OBL one FUT- fart and FUT come.to.surface.of.water

- He'll fart once more, and then he'll come up.

v.022

kʷémít yesʔáčəx sənčafé
kʷémít yesʔáčəx sənčafé
kʷémít i es- ʔačx s+n+čf=ep
and.then PART ACT- look coyote

Coyote was watching,

ӻʷəf čé? tənkúʔ qspʔúʔúm mɛ+tkʷkʷétkʷ.
ӻʷəf čé? t nkʷúʔ qsʔúʔúm m č+tkʷkʷétkʷ
ӻʷf će? t nkʷuʔ qsp- ãuʔ+úm m č+tkʷ+kʷ=etkʷ
because yet OBL one FUT- fart FUT come.to.surface.of.water

because he should fart once more and then come up.
A short while after, as the coyote was watching,

u imál/commasuprightnosp u kʷénít čo·ším sənčəlé:

u i mál u kʷénít čo·ším sənčəlé
and PART bubble and and.then he.shouted coyote

it bubbled and he shouted:

šéyu čt̥kw kʷ étkw sqaléʔu.

šéyu čt̥kw kʷ étkw sqaléʔu
DEM come.to.surface.of.water beaver

Now the beaver came up!

ntəltəlqapəncú, čo·ším:

ntəltəlqapəncú čo·ším
n+tf+tfq=ap+ncút čoš+ím
jump.around he.shouted

He jumped around and shouted:

í··· qeʔšƛəpá.

í··· qeʔ šƛəpá
 INTJ 1PL.INTR win.PL

We won the game!

v.023

kʷénít ʰiʔé scƛexúʔps cťəppstém
kʷénít ʰiʔé scƛexúʔps cťəppstém
and.then this win.PL -3POSS standing.up.PL -TR -PASS

Then the animals they had won, were lined up in front of them, the moose,
Then coyote cut the buffalo's head off,

Then stones were thrown on the fire,
they threw their food on the stones and cooked it.

tá sqasíp u piyáq.

A short while after, it was all cooked.

They took it out of the fire,

OBL coyote

coyote put the buffalo over to his side,

the wood-duck put the elk over to his side,
and the wood-pecker put the moose over to his side.

Then they ate.

They ate and died from too much greasy food.
There sat a rabbit.

The rabbit was eating grass.

The rabbit heard something and looked back.

Ha ha, the lynx had come quite close to him already.

Then he thought: Now I am dead.
He thought: But I'll call him names.

Then the rabbit said to him:

Big-rump!

The rabbit was looking at him from his place,

was calling him names and (the lynx) ran upon him.

He was watching and then the rabbit ran...
in between his legs in his lap

The lynx made a grab,

and then he just pinched off his own penis.

The rabbit was watching.

Then he (the lynx) died.

Then the rabbit was watching, he (the lynx) died,
and he laughed and he ran away.

There the lynx lay.

Then the rabbit ran away.

That's the end.
2.6 Text VII

VII.001

šéʔi Ḿiʔé ṣʔsqéʔi sqélixw.
šéʔi Ḿiʔé ṣʔsqéʔy sqélixw
šéʔi Ḿiʔé es+qéy s+qé=ixw

that this people live people

Some people lived.

čiʔcantəm čtkʷeʔlpaməntəm txʷiʔxʷeyúf tənaʕisqélixw.
čiʔcantəm čtkʷeʔlpaməntəm
čiʔc -nt -m č+tkʷ+kw=ʔlp+m -nt -m
arrive.PL -TR -PASS put.up.camp.PL -TR -PASS

t xʷiʔxʷeyúf tə naʕisqélixw
OBL animal

t xʷy+xʷey=úɬ t n+ʔiʔɬn+s+qé=ixw
OBL man.eater

Some animals\(^{29}\) -- man-eaters -- came to the camp and put up their tents.

cúntəm yé sqélixw:
cúntəm yé sqélixw
cu -nt -m ye s+qé=ixw
say -TR -PASS this people

They said to the people:

kuqsxčxčəmí.
kʷu qsxčxčəmí
kʷu qs- čč+čc+iʔm -i
1SG.OBJ FUT- gamble.PL -FUT

Let us gamble.

cú: xú, kuqsčəlálqʷi.
cú xʷú kʷu qsčəlálqʷi
kʷu qs- cl=alqʷ -i
1SG.OBJ FUT- stick.game -FUT

They said: All right, let us play stick-game.

\(^{29}\) The plural is in the translation, but does not seem to be in the Kalispel, here or throughout this story.
These animals were very good gamblers.

They sat down, made their bets, and played.

The people lost.

They made their bets and played again.
The man-eaters were thinking:

ne časpanúts 4u?teʔsténís,
ne časpanúts 4u? teʔstéms
ne ćs+p+nu -4t -s 4u? teʔ+s+tem -s
COND all.used.up -TR -3TRANS ART possession -3POSS

When they have lost all their goods,

4u?sqamanəłscúts ne časpanúts, esiýa? 4iʔé teʔstéms -
4u? sqamanəłscúts né časpanúts esiýa?
4u? s+qam+n=lsćut -s ne ćs+p+nu -4t -s es+yá?
ART goods -3POSS COND all.used.up -TR -3TRANS every
4iʔé teʔstéms
4iʔé teʔ+s+tem -s
this possession -3POSS

all their things --

u skwésts 4iʔé sqelix 4u?sqamanəłscúts -
u skwésts 4iʔé sqelix 4u? sqamanəłscúts
u s+kwes+t -s 4iʔé s+qel=ix 4u? s+qam+n=lsćut -s
and name -3POSS this people ART goods -3POSS

the name of these people was their Goods --

k"émnt nté 4iʔé naˈlisqélixw:
k"émnt nté 4iʔé naˈlisqélixw
k"émnt nt=els 4iʔé n+i+n+s+qel=ix
and.then think this man.eater

the man-eaters thought:
When we have won all their goods,

\[
m \hat{\text{né}} \hat{\text{cənlq}} \hat{\text{i}} \hat{\text{qs}} \hat{\text{exú}p} \hat{\text{m}}.
\]

we'll win them too.

When we have won them, we will take them and eat them.

Then they lost all their things.

A man arrived.

They said: This is the one who now is going to play.
The name of this man who now was going to play, was Sleepy-Boy (So JA).

They had nowhere on the earth seen this young man.

he was very good-looking.
When the night came, they played.

The young man was going to lose.

as the luck changed and Sleepy-Boy started to beat them.
made their bets again.

The young man was going to lose,

the luck changed,

and won the game.

Then the man-eaters said --
mi\, pənúis, mi\, pənúis yé təna\, 4isqélix\, 4tan
miy\, pənúis miiy\, pənúis yé
miy\, p+ nú -nt -s miy\, p+ nú -nt -s yé
find\, out -TR -3TRANS find\, out -TR -3TRANS this
tə na\, 4isqélix\, 4tan
tn\, ñi\, n+s+qél=ix\, 4+tn
OBL man\, eater

the man\, eaters understood, they understood

tá pi\, stém qšś\, ipənúis --
tá pi\, stém qšś\, ipənúis
ta\, piʔstém qš– śX\, ip+ nú -nt -s
never FUT- win -TR -3TRANS

that they would never beat him --

VII.006

hóy k”émt cúti 4iʔé na\, 4isqélix\, 4tan:
hóy k”émt cúti 4iʔé na\, 4isqélix\, 4tan
hoy k”emt cú+t+i 4iʔé n+ʔi\, n+s+qél=ix\, 4+tn
then and\, then they\, said this man\, eater

these man\, eaters said:

hóy qeʔhoyəhó.
hóy qeʔ hoyəhó
hoy qeʔ hoy+hoy
then 1PL\, INTR stop

Let us quit!

né ʔe4kukuʔéc, mqeʔe4cəlq\, wəm.
né ʔe4k”k”ʔéc m qeʔ e4cəlq\, wəm
ne e4+k”+k”ʔéc m qeʔ e4+cl=álq\, w+m
COND tomorrow\, night FUT 1PL\, INTR play\, stick\, game\, again\, INTR

We\, ll play again to\, morrow night.
They went to sleep.

The next morning the animals moved away.

The name of these man-eaters was ?aʔxʷ?aʔxʷiyəná.

They got scared and ran away.

Then Sleepy-Boy called the people together.
They gathered.

All right, take back your things,

you certainly know your own things,

take them back.

Then they all took back their things.

When they had finished, he said:
Now you have been thinking what to do with me.

I am the Sweat-Lodge.

I'll tell you:

All your things are going to be my things.

If someone fixes me,

my fire, that will be my payment.
If someone likes me,

\[
\begin{align*}
hói k^\text{émt} & \, şéʔi \, šxaméʔnčs \, \text{yetə}^\text{á} \, ɬuʔ \, səláq^\text{i}. \\
hóy & \, k^\text{émt} \, şéʔi \, šxaméʔnčs \, \text{yetə} \, ɬuʔ \, səláq^\text{i} \\
hoy & \, k^\text{émt} \, šéʔi \, šxam=éŋč-s \, ye_t^\text{á} \, ɬuʔ \, s+láq+i \\
\end{align*}
\]
then and.then that love -3TRANS today ART sweat.lodge

then he likes to-day (at the same time?) the Sweat-Lodge.

\[
\begin{align*}
hoi k^\text{émt} & \, šx\text{əf}$šéyu \, \text{yetə}^\text{á} \, šxaméʔnčs \, ɬuʔ \, səláq^\text{i}. \\
hoy & \, k^\text{émt} \, šx\text{əf} \, šéy\text{u} \, ye_t^\text{á} \, šxam=éŋč-s \, ɬuʔ \, s+láq+i \\
\end{align*}
\]
then and.then because DEM today love.PL -3TRANS ART sweat.lodge

That's why people to-day like the Sweat-Lodge.

vii.010

\[
\begin{align*}
hói k^\text{émt} & \, ɬiʔe_t^\text{á} \, təʔé \\
hóy & \, k^\text{émt} \, ɬiʔe_t^\text{á} \, tə \, ?e \\
hoy & \, k^\text{émt} \, ɬiʔe_t^\text{á} \, t \, ?e \\
\end{align*}
\]
And to-day,

\[
\begin{align*}
u \, wíčtəm & \, ɬuʔ \, sqélix^w \, čx\text{síčeʔ,} \\
u & \, wíčtəm \, ɬuʔ \, sqélix^w \, čx\text{síčeʔ} \\
u \, wíč & \, -nt \, -m \, ɬuʔ \, s+qél=ix^w \, č+\, ɬx=ícɛ? \\
\end{align*}
\]
and see -TR -PASS ART people well.dressed

you may sometime see people well-dressed,
and then bad 1SG.POSS clothing

but look, because I don't go very often to the Sweat-Lodge, my garments are miserable.

That's the end.
A married couple lived in a house.

The man was called lynx.

They got a son.

He said to his wife: I'll go and look around.

She said to him: Go and get some milk for him.
The husband walked away,

went to a salmon-place,

When the evening came,

he shouted,

calling the salmon.
The salmon came upstream.

-- Where are you, salmon?

They came up into the ?

and he rushed at them,
he did his best and caught one little salmon.

He went home, divided it into two small parts,

and ate one.

The next morning

he ate the other part, and that was all.
hóí nkúʔ samxúp.
hóy nkúʔ samxúp
hoy nkúʔ s+múp
then one winter

Then one winter,

kʷémt xé poxtíš (rec. -íls).
kʷémt xé poxtíš
kʷermt xé pəxt+iš
and.then already grew.up

(his son) had grown up already.

cúis yé skúis:
cúis yé skúis
cu -nt -s ye s+kuy -s
say -TR -TRANS this mother -POSS

He said to his mother:

tá činepšéu.
tá čin epšéu
ta čn epš+léu
NEG 1SG.INTR have.a.father

I have no father.

cúntam: kʷepšéu,
cúntam kʷ epšéu
cu -nt -m kʷ epš+léu
say -TR -PASS 2SG.INTR have.a.father

He was told: You have a father,

kʷestíxʷštams taqsqeʔé̱m,
kʷ estíxʷštams t aqsqeʔé̱m
kʷ es- tixʷ -št -m -s t han- qô- s+qe?+m
2SG.INTR ACT- obtain -TR -2SG.OBJ -TRANS OBL 2SG.POSS- to.be- milk

he is getting some milk for you.
méyeʔtəm ɬuʔtskúi.
méyeʔtəm ɬuʔ t skúy
méye -ʔt -m ɬuʔ t s+kúy
tell -TR -PASS ART OBL mother

So he was told by his mother.

VIII.005

hói xúi ɬiʔé ɬtətəwí.  
hóy xúy ɬiʔé ɬtətəwí  
hoy xúy ɬiʔé ɬtətəwí  
then go this young boy

The young man went.

hói čícis.  
hóy čícis  
hoy čícis -nt -s  
then arrive -TR -TRANS

He arrived to his father's place.

cúis: yó . . . təʔé u k'esx'l.  
cúis yó tə ʔé u k'esx'  
cu -nt -s yo t ʔe u k'esx' -l'is -i  
say -TR -TRANS so OBL here and 2SG.INTR CONT walk around -CONT

He said to him: So you are walking around here.

hói kʷémt kúfšts (rec. kúfšts) tqscəʔíhíx ɬiʔesčiccis. 
hóy kʷémt kúfšts t qscəʔíhíx ɬiʔe  
hoy kʷémt kúfšts -st -s t qʰ sc+ʔíhíx -s ɬiʔé  
then and.then work -TR -TRANS OBL to.be food -3POSS this

sčiccis  
s+čic+c+n -s  
guest -3POSS

He prepared some food for his guest.
He did not say:

šéʔi ɬuʔkuʔasq/wsuperséʔ.
šéʔi ɬuʔ k/wsuperu asq/wsuperu sēʔ.

I am your son.

In the evening the boy said:

Go, I'll be watching you.

They went down to the river,

he shouted: Where are you, salmon?
The salmon came upstream into the ?

As soon as he stopped shouting,

it splashed in the water by the salmon coming upstream.

He ran upon them,

they escaped.

---

31 Another possible analysis of this form is a compound of čuw ‘quiet, empty, gone’ and weʔ ‘shout’ with an inchoative suffix –p. This form also occurs in VIII.009.
He (i.e. the son) thought:

hayó qʷəŋʷínt inlʔéu,

My father is really poor,

because he is all wet and has got only one little fish.

As they had come home again, the young man said to him:

I should like to look at your hands.
He looked at his hands --

He looked at his hands:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{4u?es\ác\xxts} & \quad \text{4u?wé k"isqélix" 4ulsəm\f}{\text{ič}}, \\
\text{4u?} & \quad \text{es\ác\xxts} & \quad \text{4u? wé} & \quad \text{k"isqélix"} \\
\text{4u?} & \quad \text{es- ʔac\xxt} & \quad \text{st -s} & \quad \text{4u? we} & \quad \text{k"in+s+qěl=ix"} \\
\text{ART} & \quad \text{CUST-} & \quad \text{look} & \quad \text{-CUST} & \quad \text{-3TRANS} & \quad \text{ART} & \quad \text{to.no.avail} & \quad \text{grab.person} \\
\text{4u l səm\f}{\text{ič}} \\
\text{4u? l s+m\f}{\text{ič}} \\
\text{ART} & \quad \text{LOC} & \quad \text{salmon} \\
\end{align*}
\]

when he had been watching him, trying to catch the salmon,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>šéʔi 4aháq&quot; --</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šéʔi 4aháq&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šéʔi 4aháq&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

they slipped through --

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ʔac\xxts} & \quad \text{4u?čélšc:} \\
\text{ʔac\xxts} & \quad \text{4u? čélšc} \\
\text{ʔac\xxt} & \quad \text{-4t -s} & \quad \text{4u? čelš -s} \\
\text{look} & \quad \text{-TR} & \quad \text{-3TRANS} & \quad \text{ART} & \quad \text{hand} & \quad \text{-3POSS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

he looked at his hands:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yórm, tá lčén mqeʔecáxí mkunél (?)} \\
\text{yórm tá l čén m qeʔecáxí m kʷunél} \\
\text{yom ta l čén m qeʔ- ec+ʔaxí m kʷen=él} \\
\text{so NEG LOC where FUT FUT- like FUT catch} \\
\end{align*}
\]

He is never likely to catch any fish.

---

\[32\] -s is the underlying form of the third person possessive, and the expected form here. -c is expected after -s and -t; see Vogt note 33 (1940a:19).
The young man went out, whittled some pitch-wood,

The young man went out, whittle.INTR OBL pitch-wood

counted the fingers.

count -TR -3TRANS ART hand -3POSS

counted the fingers.

He went in again,

He went in again,

and fixed it putting each on his (i.e. his father's) fingers.

As he got this gadget, he longed eagerly for the evening.

As he got this gadget, he longed eagerly for the evening.
In the evening, they went down to the water.

He shouted: Where are you, salmon?

As soon as he stopped shouting, it splashed in the water,

he jumped on them as they passed and grabbed them,

and then threw them ashore.

As they came home again, he said:
I am your son.

Then he knew him.

The son said to him:

What is in your mind?

Will you go back to your wife?

The father said to his son:
No, it is up to you to decide.

Then the son said:

I'll bring your wife here.

This is going to be your country.

His son went back.

He came home and she said to him:
Did you find your father?

Get ready,

I am fetching you, you shall go to your husband.

He took her with him,

his mother went,
they went and arrived.

As soon as they arrived he said to them:

This is going to be your country forever.

And they still live there to-day.

That's the end.
3.0 LIST OF FORMS

This section presents the list of forms that occur in the texts. Section 3.1 contains the list of stems, 3.2 contains the lists of affixes, and 3.3 lists stems arranged by root.

3.1 Stems

This section presents the list of stems that occur in the texts. The stems are listed in alphabetical order, followed by the English gloss, the root (if found), unanalyzed forms (i.e. the way the forms appear in the texts) and allomorphs, and any comments. Stress is indicated in multisyllabic stems.

- **anwiʔ** 2SG; √anwiʔ; anwi, anuí
- **aŋ+aŋ=tč+m** work pl intr; √ʔaŋil; aŋaŋtəčim
- **ay** oh; áy
- **caq** placed; √caq; cq, cáq
- **ci** this; cí; deictic
- **citxʷ** house; √citxʷ; citxʷ
- **ciʔ** here; that one; √ciʔ; ciʔ; ci; Vogt note 203 (1940a:69)
- **citxʷ** house pl; √citxʷ; ciʔtxʷ
- **cniŁc** 3SG; √cniŁc; cəníŁc
- **cniʔŁc** 3PL; √cniŁc; cəníŁc, cəníʔŁc, cniʔ Łc
- **cq+q=us** land; √cq; cqqús
- **cq+q=uʔs** land pl; √cq; cqqŭʔs
- **cu** say; √cuw; cú
- **cu+n+m** say; √cuw; cúnam
- **cu+t** say; √cuw; cút
- **cú+t+i** he/she/they said; √cuw; cúti; intransitive form
- **cúʔ+t+i** say pl; √cuw; cúʔti
- **c+ciʔŁš** camp pl; √ciŁś; cciʔŁś
- **c+Xëč=qin+m** stick head through; √Xeč; cXačqanam
- **c+Xeʔč+m** rise CISLOC; √Xeč; cXeʔčam; ciscocative infix
- **c+Xl+p** stop; √Xl; cXlĭp
- **c+n+tyeš** crawl towards; √tyeš; cantiyeš
- **c+tkʷ+ncut** lie down; √tukʷ; ctkʷəncút
c+tp+p standing up PL; √tp; cf:app; reduplication of second root consonant

c+x+wuy come; √x+wuy; cx+wúy

c+ũuk+wu bring; √ũuk+wu?; cãũk+wu

če?és bashful; √češ

čip pinch; √čip; čip

čl=alq+w stick game; √čl; čaláqw

čl=alqw+m play stick game INTR; √čl; čaláqw=am

čn+m tight; √čan; čanəm; with stem formative +m

čn+op tight; √čan; čanóp

čn+p+ma tight; √čan; čanpəmá

čq+m throw; √čaq; čqam

čq+min throw away; √čaq; čqamín

čs+ip all gone; √čs; časip

čs+p+nu all used up; √čs; časpanú

čwet go after; √čwet; čuwét

čwet+m go after INTR; √čwet; čuwétam

čelš hand; √čelš; čelš

čen do what; √čeņ; čen

čen+m do what INTR; √čeņ; čenm, čenm, čenam

čeņ where; √čeņ; čeņ; Vogt note 65 (1940a:28)

čeņés three; √čeņés; čeņés

čic arrive; √čic; čic

čit+ũ=Áₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐ¢+ MIME injection warning

čn ISG INTR; čîn-, čan-, či, če-, či-, čn-, čis-, čin, k*u; allomorph k*u occurs in double possessed forms

čn=qín blind; √čn; čanəmʔqín, činəmʔqín

čoš+ím he shouted; √čoš; čo·šim, čošim


\( \text{čq}^+ \text{-} \text{q} = \text{čst} + \text{m} = \text{čtumš} \) behave foolishly in a crowd;  
\( \text{čq}^+ \text{q} = \text{čstam} + \text{čtumš} \)

\( \text{čy} + \text{čiy} = \text{čy} \) grandmother; \( \sqrt{\text{čy}} \); \( \text{čciý} \)

\( \text{č} + \text{cm} + \text{p} = \text{els} \) sick from greasy food;  
\( \sqrt{\text{čim}} \); \( \text{čcampé} \) see Vogt camp-

\( \text{č} + \text{če} + \text{če} \text{čé} + \text{čes} \) three people; \( \sqrt{\text{če} + \text{čes}} \);  
\( \text{če} + \text{če} + \text{čé} + \text{čes} \)

\( \text{č} + \text{či?t} + \text{mín} \) go near to; \( \sqrt{\text{či?t}} \); \( \text{či?tamín} \)

\( \text{č} + \text{či?} \text{x} + \text{či?} \text{mín} \) envy PL; \( \sqrt{\text{či?x}} \);  
\( \text{či?yú?x} + \text{či?tama} \); Vogt records \( \text{č}^w \)

\( \text{č} = \text{naqs} \) one person, another; \( \text{činá} \), \( \text{činás} \), \( \text{čina} \)

\( \text{č} + \text{čp} \text{Xé} = \text{čst} + \text{čmin} \) let go of; \( \sqrt{\text{čp} \text{Xé}} \);  
\( \text{čpXéstam} \); \( \text{čpXéstama} \)

\( \text{č} + \text{čq} \text{e} = \text{čels} + \text{čm} \) pay attention; \( \sqrt{\text{čq} \text{e}} + \text{čelsam} \)

\( \text{č} + \text{čs} \text{in} \) follow; \( \sqrt{\text{čs} \text{in}} \); \( \text{čs} \text{in} \)

\( \text{č} + \text{čs} \text{in} + \text{čmin} \) go with; \( \sqrt{\text{čs} \text{in}} \); \( \text{čs} \text{inam} \)

\( \text{č} + \text{čta} \text{X} \text{m} + \text{čmncút} + \text{čm} \) go up to; \( \sqrt{\text{čta} \text{X} \text{m}} \);  
\( \text{čta} \text{X} \text{m} \text{alamancútam} \)

\( \text{č} + \text{čk} \text{w} = \text{čep} + \text{čm} \) put by side; \( \sqrt{\text{čk} \text{w}} \);  
\( \text{čtk} \text{w} \text{epam} \)

\( \text{č} + \text{čk} \text{w} + \text{čk} \text{w} = \text{če} \text{lp} + \text{čm} \) put up camp PL;  
\( \sqrt{\text{čk} \text{w}} \); \( \text{čtk} \text{w} \text{čk} \text{w} \text{é} \text{lpam} \)

\( \text{č} + \text{čm} + \text{čp} + \text{čm} \) jump on; \( \sqrt{\text{čm}} \);  
\( \text{čx} \text{m} \text{tapamín} \)

\( \text{č} + \text{čx} \text{t} + \text{čp} + \text{čm} \) rush at;  
\( \sqrt{\text{čx} \text{t}} \); \( \text{čx} \text{m} \text{tapamsqélilx} \)

\( \text{č} + \text{čm} + \text{čuy} + \text{čmn} \) go up to; \( \sqrt{\text{čmuy}} \);  
\( \text{čx} \text{m} \text{uyamān} \)

\( \text{č} + \text{čs} = \text{íce} \) well-dressed; \( \sqrt{\text{čes}} \); \( \text{čxsiče} \)

\( \text{č} + \text{čx} \text{a} + \text{čx} \text{e} + \text{e} + \text{ey} + \text{čmín} \) laugh PL;  
\( \sqrt{\text{čx} \text{ey}} \); \( \text{čx} \text{x} \text{a} \text{x} \text{e} \text{eyamí} \)

\( \text{č} + \text{čyl} + \text{čyal} = \text{čs} + \text{čm} \) look at with big eyes;  
\( \sqrt{\text{čyl}} \); \( \text{čliyálsam} \)

\( \text{č} + \text{čes} \text{él} \) two; \( \sqrt{\text{čes} \text{él}} \); \( \text{čes} \)

\( \text{č} \text{t} \); \( \text{č}, \text{ča}, \text{ča}, \text{če} \); \( \sqrt{\text{čt}} \);  
\( \text{čt} \text{če} \text{t} \)

\( \text{člx} \text{w} \) evening; \( \sqrt{\text{člx} \text{w}} \); \( \text{čelux} \text{w} \); \( \text{čelux} \)

\( \text{člx} \text{w} + \text{čm} \) become evening; \( \sqrt{\text{člx} \text{w}} \);  
\( \text{čelux} \text{um} \)

\( \text{čuw} \) absent; \( \sqrt{\text{čuw}} \); \( \text{čâu} \)

\( \text{čw} + \text{čs} + \text{čq} \text{él} = \text{čix} \text{w} \) go to gamble PL;  
\( \sqrt{\text{čw}} \); \( \text{čx} \text{q} \text{élilx} \)

\( \text{čw} + \text{čs} + \text{čq} \text{él} = \text{čix} \text{w} \) go to gamble; \( \sqrt{\text{čuw}} \);  
\( \text{čw} + \text{čs} + \text{čq} \text{élilx} \)

\( \text{čw} + \text{čup} \) stop shouting; \( \sqrt{\text{čuw}} \); \( \text{čuwép} \)

\( \text{č} + \text{če} \text{t} \text{t} \) near; \( \sqrt{\text{čit}} \); \( \text{če} \text{t} \text{t} \)
č++ʔiʔn+nk"w=éečeʔ eat one; √ʔiʔn;
č+ıhkw=éečeʔ

é yes; e•

eč++ʔaʔxl like; √ʔaʔxl; ečaʔxí, ecáxí, ečáxí

ečínt+m say what INTR; √ečínt;
ečíntam

et++c+˛xɛč=qin+m stick head through again INTR; √xeč; ečχáčqanam

et++c+pič=ús turn back; √pič;
etcpalčú

et++c+pič=ús+m turn back INTR;
√pič; etcpalčús, etcpalčúsi

et++c+x"uy come again; √x"uy;
etcx"uy

et+cl=álq"w+m play stick game again INTR; √cil; etcálalq"am

et++č+čiʔt+mín get close again; √čit;
etčiʔtamín

et++č+šín follow back; √šin; etčšín,
etčšin

et++č+šín+ím follow back INTR; √šin;
etčšíním

et++č+x"t+p+mín jump on again;
√x"t; etčx"tapamín

et++čʔ+čit back from short distance;
√čit; etčʔčeʔt

et+éli try again; √ʔel; etéli

et++es+t+n+ačx=ětk"+m look back in water; √ʔačx;
etestanʔačxětk"um

et++hóy finish again; √hoy; e+hóy

et++yʔáp go back; √yaʔ; etiʔáp

et++k"+k"7éć tomorrow night; √k"ec;
ʔetk"k"7éć

et++k"4+číc manage to arrive again;
√k"t, √čic; etk"ačic

et++máľ bubble again; √mľ bleed, flow;
etmáľ

et+n+piš reenter; √piš; etnpiš

et++n+qaXíp get back in canoe;
etnqaXíp

et++n+qaXíp+mí get back in canoe;
etnqaXípamí

et++n+ʔúx+w go back in; √ʔu+xw;
etnʔu+xw

et++n+ʔús+miʔ dive again; √ʔus;
etnoósamíʔ

et++q"?éć warm again; √q"ec; etq"uʔéć

et++q"4+čí carry back on back; √q"eč;
etq"ačí

et++q"4+q"étt+m carry back PL on back; √q"eč; etq"ačttam

et++q"m=ép+m leave again suddenly;
√q"m; etq"omépam

et++q"úm take back; √q"um; etq"uʔm
et+šilč+mn+cút turn self around; √šilč; etšilčamancút

et++t+čl=álqʷ play stick game again; √čil; etčalálqʷ; the t- is unanalyzed

et+t+teʔékʷ resurface INCH; √tekʷ; etteʔékʷ; inchoative infix -ʔ-

et++tu̇kʷ+št+wéxʷ place bet again RECP; √tu̇kʷ; ettu̇kʷəštuwéxʷ

et+xʷič give back; √xʷičš; et+xʷič, et+xʷiča

et++xʷúy go back; √xʷúy; et+xʷúy, et+xʷúi

et+yáʔap arrive again PL; √yaʔ; etiʔáʔp

et+ʔtíʔn eat again; √ʔtíʔn; etʔtíʔn

et++n+qe?=ús stick in again; √qeʔ; etʔnqeʔús

et+ʔócqeqeʔ go out again; √ʔócqeqeʔ; etʔócqeqeʔ

ep+ć+c+čiʔlš have camps; √čiš; p+ćciʔlš

ep+ćy+ciʔ=éʔ have a grandmother; √ćy; epćyiʔiyéʔ

ep+ć+čx=ćn+m head showing INTR; √čxć; epćxčąćqänam; ep- ‘have’ prefix on stem es+ćx=ćn+m, lexicalized with prefix es- ‘actual’

ep+t+ʔéu have a father; √ʔéu; epʔéu

ep+t+s+čiʔ+t have clay; √čiʔ; epsčiʔt

ep+t+s+mt=ć place that has salmon; √mt; epsamć

ep+t+s+pʔús decide; √pús; epspuʔús; have mind

ep+t+s+qlt+míxʷ have a husband; √qel; epsqaltamíxʷ, epsqaltamíxʷ; xʷ in IV.010

ep+t+šl+mín have axe; √šl; epšilamín, epšilamín

ep+t+yúc+mn have red paint; √yuć; epţiyúćaman

es+č+t+q|+ʔ lake; √qł; esčqaliʔ; lexicalized form with continuative affixes es- and -ʔ

es+č+xʷy=ěp bend in water?; esčxoyép; meaning unclear

es+č+xʷy=ěp+n bend in water?; esčxoyépän; meaning unclear; –n is unexpected and unanalyzable

es+n+čl=ětkʷ pole in water; √čil; esəncalętkʷ, esəncalętkʷ

es+n+yʔ+áp forever; √yaʔ; esəniʔáp

es+qéy there is a house, people live, camp; √qey; esqéy, ʔesqéy

es=wł=ús fireplace; √wł; esoľúš

es+yáʔ every; √yaʔ; esiyaʔ
es+ya+p=qíñ+i powwow; √yaʔ; esiyapíni, esiyapíni; lexicalized form with continuative affixes es- and -i

es+ʔus+ʔus+t dive PL; √ʔus; esʔusʔúst

ex INTJ; éx

eʔ+cí where; eʔcí; Vogt note 203 (1940a:69)
eʔ+cé where; eʔcé

ha ha; há, há

ha INTERR; a-

hayó oh my; √hayó; hayó

ha+há laugh; hahá, háhá

hoy then, stop, finished; √hoy; hói, hoi, hóy

hoy+hóy stop; √hoy; hoyóhó

i PART; y-, i--; Vogt note 217 (1940a:73)
i•• INTJ; i••

il+t+tšené in a short while; ilttshené;
Vogt dictionary has barred l

iše? DEM; deictic

kw 2SG INTR; kw-, kwə, kwə-

kʷenít and then; kʷént, kʷénít; Vogt note 146 (1940a:50)

kʷen take, grab, catch; √kʷen; kʷé, kʷén

kʷen=él take, grab, catch; √kʷen;
kʷunél

kʷen+nú manage to catch; √kʷen;
kʷunnú

kʷil=ls red shirt; √kʷil; kʷillqs

kʷin+s+qél=lx grab person; √kʷen,
√qel; kʷisqélíxʷ; compound

kʷmi? OPT; kʷumi?

kʷtun+t big; √kʷtun; kʷtúnt

kʷu 1SG OBJ; kʷu-, kʷ-

kʷuné CONJ; kʷune; kʷuné u introduces a hypothetical clause (Vogt note 211 [1940a:71])

kʷuntá perhaps(?); Vogt uncertain about gloss

kʷ+kʷ?ec get dark; √kʷec; kʷukʷuʔec

kʷen=čst+míst get ready; √kʷen;
kʷeŋčstamist

kʷinš=ásqités several days; √kʷinš;
kʷənšá

kʷ4n+qʷom+i leave suddenly; √kʷ4,
√qʷm; kʷə+nqʷomi

kʷ4+čic manage to arrive; √kʷ4, √čic;
kʷə+čic

kʷ4+qeʔéč appear; √kʷ4, √qeč;
kʷə+qeʔéč

kʷ4+qeʔéč+c appear; √kʷ4, √qeč;
kʷə+qeʔéč+c; reduplication of second root consonant
kʷt+paʔx deliberate, figure out; √kʷt, √paʔx; kʷa+paʔx

kʷt+taľ make rites; √kʷt, √tal; kʷa+tal

kʷt+yem+m hesitate; √kʷt, √yem; kʷa+iye�m

kʷn=čst+mist+(t)n try by hand; √kʷeŋ; kʷaŋčstamistan

kʷu but; kʷú

kʷuf work, create; √kʷuf; kʷúf

kʷuf+m work INTR; √kʷuf; kʷúfam

kʷ+šeʔ that; kʷašéʔ?

I LOC: l-, a₁-, a₁-, Vogt note 191 (1940a:66)

laáp paddle, travel by boat; √lap

lč+ič tie PL; √lč; lčič

lem+t glad; √lem; lémt

lkʷu+t it is far; √lkʷu; lkʷút

lukʷ stick of wood; √lukʷ; lúkʷ
dlju father (male speaking); √dlju; dlju, dlju, dlju, dļu

dlciʔ in here; √dlci; αlciciʔ; an example of a phrase being treated as a stem

dlséyu then; lšéyu; LOC + DEM

daháqʷ slippery

daqš+ilš sit down; √daq; dąqšilš

daqš+m sit down INCH; √daq; dąqš; inchoative reduplication of second root consonant

daqš+m=úleʔxʷ come into open space; √daqʷ; dqšʷomuleʔxʷ

dʔaq+q sit down PL; √daq; dąqq; glottal stop plural, inchoative reduplication of second root consonant

dʔč whip; √dič

diʔé this; diʔe, diʔ; Vogt note 208 (1940a:70)

diʔe_tičxʷé today; √ičxʷeʔ; diʔeţičxʷá

duʔ ART; du, du--; Vogt notes 205-208 (1940a:69-70)

duʔ there; duʔ

duʔ+mín+tn spear; √duʔ; duʔmint, duʔminti

dič hole; √dič, dčuʔ

dič small; √dic; dčiκ, dčyım,

dič+kʷyüm=eʔ small; √kʷyum; dčiκyımκ, yım, kʷyımκ

dič+t+cit young boy; √tew; dčiκtawit, dčiκtawit, dčiκtawit

dič+iʔt+č eat DIM; √i+č; dčiʔt; C1 reduplication with laryngealization of resonants

dči already, now, then; dči

dči+čiʔ=ús look around; √dčiʔ; xuʔxuʔus
n+îš+îlš down in; nîsilš

n+kʷuX=úš unplug; √kʷuX; nkʷuXús

n+teʔ=úš+m turn back INTR; √teʔ; nteʔúšam

n=út=étkʷ+m spear in water; √útʔ; nútétkʷum

n+tśʷp+m=ép=úščn escape below thighs; √tśʷuṣp; n+tśʷpámépuščan

n+t+s=q=éws divide into small parts; n+t+sqéus

n+xl=etkʷ drown; √xl; nxlétkʷ

n+mîy+ép+m told on; √mîy; ammiyépm

n+mn+an+in=îp (placename);
nmənánînîp; unknown meaning; lexical suffix -îp 'tree'

n+mqʷ=ups big rump; √moqʷ; nmqʷúps

n+nič=s cut off head; √nič; nnîčs

n+pqu=čn=éčst+m in palm of hand;
npqúcinéčstam

n+pin lay in; √pin; nṗan; long cylindrical objects

n+puʔ=étkʷ+m fart in water; √puʔ; nþuʔétkʷum

n+qʷn̓n+mí pity; √qʷín; nqʷən̓námí, nqʷən̓námín

n+síxʷ+uʔ pour; √sixʷ; nsíxʷuʔ

n+t̓ t̓ f=t̓ q=ap+ncút jump around;
√t̓ q; ntaftaqapánçú; Spokane √trq

n+tśʷ=qín noon; √tśʷ; nťśʷqín

n+wnexʷ=éne? believe; √wnexʷ;
nunnexʷéne?

n+xʷíst=élčə? walk in the room;
√xʷíst; nxʷstélčə?

n+xę+ be afraid; √xel; nxe+

n+xîl+min get scared; √xel; nixelaman

n+ʔi+tn+s+qéλ=ixʷ man-eater; √ʔi+tn,
√qel; naʔisqéλixʷ, naʔisqéλixʷ

n+ʔi+tn+s+qéλ=ixʷ+tn man-eater;
√ʔi+tn, √qel; naʔisqéλixʷtən;
instrumental -tn suffix

n+ʔu+txʷ go in; √ʔu+txʷ; nʔu+txʷ

o oh; ő, ó•

Olqʷ+iš+scút+n helper; √Olqʷ;
OIpʷičscútən

Oy+ncút laugh; √Oy; oýincú, oýancút

P 2PL INTR; proclitic

Pf+iP drift along; √Pf; Pafip; Vogt’s glottalization of the 1 might be indicating plural

Pxe=čst+m let go; √piX; Pxečstam;
transitive stem

Pn but; Pn

pqppuwa ppppooa (a sound)
Ps+ap scared; √pas; psáp

puls kill; /puls; púls

put just, exactly the measure; /put; pút; Vogt note 216 (1940a:73)

pút_i still; pút i; Vogt note 216 (1940a:73)

pw=els=čn buck; /pw; puwéščan

pw+pew+lš breathe; /pew; pu·péuls

pxʷ+mn+cut disperse; /pxʷ; 
pxʷomancút, pxʷomancú

pič=ús+m turn back INTR; /pič; 
maalčúsam

pum tan color; /pum; púm

puʔ+úm fart; /puʔ; puʔúm

pxʷt+lš grew up; /pxʷut; poxʷtíš

pxʷut parent; /pxʷut; poxʷút

pxʷ+pxʷut parents; /pxʷut; 
poxʷpoxʷút

pyaq cooked, ripe; /piaq; píyáq

qaluwét+m step INTR; /qlwet; 
qaluuwétam; Vogt does not record 
glottalized l

qeyšs dream; /qeyš; qé?is

qe? 1PL POSS; qa-, qe-, qa, qe

qe? 1PL INTR; qa-, qeʔ-, qé-, qéʔ, qa; 
Vogt note 54 (1940a:24)

qeʔ 1PL TRANS; qa; 1PL subject qeʔ with 
-m (Carlson 1972:39, 80, 86)

qeʔnpléʔ 1PL; /qeʔnpléʔ; qeʔnplé

qiʔ wake up; /qiʔ; qiʔ

qiʔ+q+ʔ+t awake; /qiʔ; qiʔqə+ʔt

qiʔ+t awake; /qiʔ; qiʔt, qiʔt

qmin lay; /qmin; qam

qp=έčεʔ dish; /qp; qapetčεʔ

qs+tam definitely not; /tam; qstám

qs+ʔɪn̚ food; /ʔɪn̚; qsaʔɪn̚; lexicalized 
form consisting of prefix qs- 
‘FUTURE’ and ʔɪn̚ ‘eat’

qam+qam+iš discuss PL; /qam; 
qamqamíš

qey build a house; /qey; qéi, qéy

qʷam+qʷm+t wonderful; /qʷam; 
qʷámqʷumt

qʷásqʷi bluejay; /qʷásqʷiʔ; qʷásqʷi

qʷay blue; /qʷay; qʷáy

qʷew+w crazy; /qʷew; qʷéu;
inchoative reduplication of second 
root consonant

qʷil cheat; /qʷil; qʷil

qʷim̚m anxious for, in a hurry; /qʷim̚m; 
qʷim̚m

qʷl+qʷel talk; /qʷel; qʷəlqʷel
finally, new; √sic; sic

sù?it cold; ? √sul; sù?it

swet who; √swet; suwét

sìxʷ—meʔ measure; √suxʷ; súxʷameʔ

sic; síc

suxʷ know, understand, recognize;
√suxʷ; súxʷ; Vogt records ̓̕xʷ consistently

súxʷ=meʔ measure; √suxʷ; súxʷameʔ

súxʷ=meʔ measure; √suxʷ; súxʷameʔ

qʷl+=qʷel+=t talk INTR; √qʷel; qʷəlqʷélτ

qʷl=eʔp blacken PL; √qʷl; qʷəléʔp

qʷm+ʔp die PL; √qʷm; qʷomíʔp

qʷn+qʷʔn+t poor, pitiful; √qʷʔn;
qʷənqʷint

qʷn+qʷn+s=cín ask for pity; √qʷʔn;
qʷənqʷəńcin

qʷuyeʔé 1SG; √qʷuyʔe; kʷuyʔé

qʷy+qʷy+scut Quiquiscu (name);
qʷlqʷiscú

qʷy black; √qʷay; qʷəy

qʷy+qʷy ay buffalo; √qʷay; qʷəyəqʷəy

qʷy+qʷy+stímá buffalo cow; √qʷay;
qʷəyəqʷəyəstímá

saʔxʷ split wood; √saʔxʷ; sáxʷ

sc+tlxʷ gathered stuff; √tlxʷ; sctlxʷ

sc+iʔn food; √iʔn; scəʔiʔn, scəʔiʔn

sew ask; √sew; séu, su·

sew=kʷ water; √sew=kʷ; séu=kʷ

séw=neʔ hear something; √sew; séuneʔ

sew+núʔmt ask information; √sew;
sewnúʔmt

slc finally, new; √sic; sic

sí+síy=ús smart; √sy; sisiyús

sxʷ know, understand, recognize;
√sxʷ; súxʷ; Vogt records ̓̕xʷ consistently

súxʷ=meʔ measure; √suxʷ; súxʷameʔ

súxʷ=meʔ measure; √suxʷ; súxʷameʔ

s+ć+t+txʷ=éneʔ straight above PL;
√ć+; √toxʷ; sćttxʷéneʔ

s+ć+ć=sax/haceknosp/x/haceknosp úʔp win PL; √x/haceknosp; scx/haceknospúʔp

s+ćic+c+n guest; √ćic; sćići;
reduplication of second root consonant

s+ć+t+txʷ=éneʔ straight above PL;
√ć+; √toxʷ; sćttxʷéneʔ

s+ć+w+ćw=aʔx arms; √ćw; sću·ćuwáxí

s+ć+sax̌+m near; √saʔx̌; sćišax̌am

s+ći+t clay; √ći; sći+t

s+ćut half; √ćut; sćiut

s+kʷes+t name; √kʷes; skʷéšt

s+kʷx=us face; √kʷx; skʷaxúς

s+kʷs+kʷes+s+t name PL; √kʷes; skʷskʷéʔst
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s+k uy</td>
<td>mother (male speaking); √k uy; sk ú, sk uy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s+láq+i</td>
<td>sweat lodge; √laq; saláqí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s+lašt</td>
<td>friend; √laš; salá, sla, sľaš, salášk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s+fša+fáxt</td>
<td>friends; √laš; sľałaláškt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s+4+k w+yúm=eʔ</td>
<td>child; √k wyum; s+k w oýúme?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s+Χ+Χúk w+eʔ</td>
<td>pitch wood; √Χúk w; sΧúk w eʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s+m+4=ic</td>
<td>salmon; √m t; sámč, sámč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s+mš w+up</td>
<td>winter; √mš w; sámš úp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s+m+ʔem</td>
<td>woman; √ʔem; sáməm, semʔem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s+nèč=4čeʔ</td>
<td>cow elk; √neč; sánèčččeʔ, sanečččeʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s+n+4=wís</td>
<td>early morning; √wis; sanṭuís; nuis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s+n+čl=ep</td>
<td>coyote; √čl; sančafle, sančalép</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s+n+qc=uč</td>
<td>lynx; √qc; sanqacú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s+n+št=etk w</td>
<td>stand in water; √št; sanšéték w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s+p4=qín</td>
<td>head; √p t; sp4qí, sp4qín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s+pw=al=qn</td>
<td>red-headed woodpecker; √pw; spuwałqan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s+pq us</td>
<td>heart, mind, personality; √pus; spuʔús</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s+placements+ni</td>
<td>sun; √paq; spqání</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s+placements+úm</td>
<td>fart; √puʔ; spuʔúm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| s+placements+placements+ut | parents, old; √placementsplacements; splacementsplacementsplacements placementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacementsplacements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placements
s+tixʷʷ+toxʷʷ+t straight; √toxʷ; stxʷtōxʷt
s+tye caribou; √tyaʔ; stiyē
s+t₁+ə=ʔʔ ground; √tla; staltalā, staltalāʔm
s+túl=lxʷ moose; √tul; túlixʷ, stúlixʷ, stúlixʷu
s+wiʔ+numt+i beautiful; √wiʔ; swiʔnumti
s+wʃ=ši fire; √wʃ; soʔʃi
s+wup=úleʔxʷ grass; √wup; supúleʔxʷ
s+wʃ+wiʔ+numt+i beautiful; √wʃ; swiʔwmiʔnumtì
s+wé+wʃ fish; √wewʃ; suwéʔuʃ
s+xʷ=ot=qs prairie rabbit; √xʷt; sxʷafʔotqs; Vogt's definition
s+xaʔ=lsq moose; √xes; sxasəlsq
s+xʷc+xʷut companions; √xʷc; sxxcůt
s+xʷeʔiľ camas in ground; √xʷeʔiľ; sxʷeʔiľ
s+xʷi+xʷi+4+t+twít Sleepy Boy (name); sxʷixʷi+i parfaitwit, sxʷixʷi+i parfaitwit
s+ʔacx look; √ʔacx; sʔácx; s+ prefix possibly ‘intent’
šéyu DEM; šéyu, šéyu, šéyu
šéʔi that; šeʔi, šéʔ, šeʔ
šiʔ make it stand; √šiʔ; št
šX+ip lose; √šX; šxiʔp
šX+ip=áʔq win; √šX; šXəpá, šXəpáʔq
šX+ip+m lose INTR; √šX; šXipam
šX+ip+nú win; √šX; šXipanû
šX+ip+núʔ win PL; √šX; šXipanûʔ
šyus+t pass; √šyus; šiʔúst, šiʔú
šyuʔ pass by PL; √šyus; šiʔúʔ
t OBL; taʔ, teʔ, ta; Vogt note 195-199 (1940a:67-68)
ta NEG; √ta; tá, tâ, taʔ, taʔa, taʔa-
tam not; √tam
taʔpiʔstēm never; tá piʔstēm
táʔs+qasíp not long; √qasip; tá sqasíp
tčy penis; √tčy; tčêʔi
tčy+ilš stand; √tešiš; tčilš
teʔ+s+tēm possession; √temi; teʔstēm; Vogt note 64 (1940a:27-28)
tixʷ obtain; √tixʷ; tixʷ, tixʷ; recorded in Vogt with xʷ consistently
tixʷ+4+kʷúľ+mn get tool; √tixʷ, √kʷul; tixʷkʷúľəmən
tixʷ+m obtain INTR; √tixʷ; tixʷəm, tixʷəm; intransitive stem
tixʷʷ+sxʷʷ+śičʷʷ=lt have a child; \(\sqrt{tix}\), \(\sqrt{śič}\); tixʷʷsxʷʷśičʷʷúlt

tixʷʷ+s+qél=ixʷ get people; \(\sqrt{tix}\), \(\sqrt{qél}\); tixʷʷsqélǐxʷ

tkʷʷʔut walk; \(\sqrt{tk}ʔu\); tkʷʷuʔút

tf from; taf-, taf; movement from a place, Vogt note 193 (1940a:66-67)
tfq+em dance INTR; \(\sqrt{tfq}\); tafqam, tafqém, tafqé; Spokane \(\sqrt{trq}\)
tma INTERR; tamá; “interrogative particle where affirmative answer is expected” (Vogt 1940a:168)
tš+ilš=éws oppose; tšilšéʔús, tšilšéʔus

tfqʷʷéneʔ wood duck; tťqʷʷéneʔ, tťqʷʷěné

tuʔ crowd; \(\sqrt{tu}\); tů?
tťxʷʷ+tošxʷʷ+t straight; \(\sqrt{toš}\); tťxʷʷtóšxʷʷt

t+n+čn=awš=q grab by hair; \(\sqrt{čn}\); tančanáʔusq

t+wíč see coming; \(\sqrt{wíč}\); twič

t+wíʔč see coming PL; \(\sqrt{wíč}\); twįʔč

t+ʔačx look over at; \(\sqrt{ʔačx}\); taʔačaʔx

téyeʔ bad; \(\sqrt{téye}\); téyeʔ

\(\sqrt{tk}ʷʷ+ncut\) lie down; \(\sqrt{tuk}ʷʷ\); tkʷʷəncút, tkʷʷəncú

\(\sqrt{tk}ʷʷ+ukʷʷ\) fall over; \(\sqrt{tuk}ʷʷ\); tkʷʷúkʷʷ; reduplication of second root consonant

\(\sqrt{čn}\); tčn

\(\sqrt{čn}\) PL

\(\sqrt{čn}\) red-headed woodpecker and group; \(\sqrt{pw}\); utšpuwáʔusq; collective lexical prefix

we although, to no avail, in vain; wé

weʔ shout; \(\sqrt{we}\); wéʔ

wič see; \(\sqrt{wič}\); wič, wič

wič+m see INTR; \(\sqrt{wič}\); wičam

wis=šn long; \(\sqrt{wis}\); wisšan

wiʔč+m see PL INTR; \(\sqrt{wič}\); wiʔčam

wý finish; \(\sqrt{wý}\); uiʔ–, wiʔ–, wiʔ–, wiʔ–

wý=cin weetseen (finish talking); \(\sqrt{wý}\); wícín;

wý=ečst finish; \(\sqrt{wý}\); uyéčst

wý+w+s+ʔel+ʔíʔn finish eating; \(\sqrt{wý}\), \(\sqrt{ʔíʔn}\); wiʔselfn; –s– compound connector with reduplication of second root

wý+w+s+ʔum finish moving; \(\sqrt{wý}\); wiʔśiʔum

wý+w+s+tēxʷ finish hole; \(\sqrt{wý}\), \(\sqrt{tēx}ʷ\); wiʔs+tēxʷ
wý+s+ xã+ xeč=cn+m stuck out tongue; √wiý, √xeč; uiʔsXxéčcənam
wý+s+q"l+q"el+t finish talking; √wiý, √q"el; wiʔs q"alq"él; intransitive stem
x"ič give; √x"ič; x"ič
x"ist walk; √x"ist; x"ist, x"st, x"stə
x"Χi+m whittle INTR; √x"Χ; x"Χim
x"st+lwis walk around; √x"ist; x"staluis
x"tîp run; √x"t; x"tîp
x"t+ilš get up; √x"t; x"tilš
x"u all right; x"ú
x"uX all right; x"úX
x"umíʔ OPT; x"umíʔ; optative particle, related to k"umi
x"uy go; √x"uy; x"úy, x"uí, x"ui, x"ú
x"úʔuy go PL; √x"uy; x"úʔuy
x"y+x"uy go PL; √x"uy; x"ix"úy, x"ixúí, x"ixú
x"y+x"ey=úť animal; √x"ey; x"iřx"eyúř, x"iřx"eyúř
x"ʔit much; x"ʔit, x"eʔit, x"uʔit, x"uʔit
xalíp morning; √xal; xalíp
xalit ask, invite; √xlit; xalit
xalit+m ask INTR; √xlit; xalítam
xam=énč love; √xm; xamé
xam=éʔnč love PL; √xm; xaméʔnč
xaʔ+mn pay; √xaʔ; xaʔamæn
x+c+mn+cut ready; √x+; xcamæncút
x+c+num+tn clothing; √x+; xcanúmtæn
x+c+st+lwis gamble PL; √x+; xčcímt, xčcæmt
xect dig roots; √xect; xéct
xes+t good; √xes; xês, xé, xést
xeʔn forbid; √xeʔn
xi lest; xì; often occurs with ne
xì[né maybe; xì[né; “meaning is uncertain” (Vogt 1940a:20)
xì_ne lest; xì né
x"a maybe; √x"a; x"á
x"a+x"eʔ+éy laugh; √x"eʔey; x"axeʔéʔi
x"l because, for; √x"l; x"al
x"q"=ews divide; √x"q"; x"q̥éʔus
yap=qíŋ powwow; √yaʔ; iyapqíŋ, yapqíŋ; verbal form
yaʔa?+m+ʔlš gather PL; √yaʔ; iyapaʔmiʔlš; Vogt unsure of transcription
ye this; yé
yeʔé this; ýé, yeʔe; Vogt note 201
(1940a:68-69)
yilkʷ rub; √yilkʷ
yíʔum move
yíʔuʔ move
yo so; ýó
yom so; ýóʔm, ýóʔm
yoóx sound of running water
yo? learn; √yo?
yo*+yo*+scút hard; √yo?; yoʔyoʔscút
yuć+mn red paint; √yuć; yúćamən, iyúćamən, ýúćamı
yʔaʔp arrive PL; √yaʔ; iʔáʔp
ýe_tïxʷá today; √iʔxʷeʔ; yetə+iʔxʷá
ʔačx look; √ʔačx; ʔáčax, ʔáčaxe
ʔačx+m look INTR; √ʔačx; ʔačxm, ʔáčakam
ʔaw+ʔá+ʔaw say aloud PL; √ʔaw; ʔauʔáʔau
ʔaxil do, be a certain way, do a certain
way; √ʔaxil; ʔaxí
ʔa̱xʷ+ʔa̱xʷ+iʔəná(ʔ) (name of a tribe);
ʔa̱xʷʔa̱xʷiʔəná, ʔa̱xʷʔa̱xʷiʔəná
ʔayxʷ+t get tired; √ʔayxʷ; ʔaïxʷt
ʔe here; √ʔe; aʔe, ʔe; Vogt note 203
(1940a:69)
ʔec+s+wíš stand SG; √wis; ʔecsuʔ
ʔel+iʔn eat PL; √ʔiʔn; elʔn, ʔelʔn
ʔemút sit, be home; √ʔemút; ʔemut
ʔenwén+m sense INTR; √ʔenwén;
enuʔənəm
ʔesél two; √ʔesél; esél
ʔet+iʔtš sleep PL; √ʔitš; etiʔtš
ʔewt=úʔs their opponent; √ʔewt;
ʔeutúʔs
ʔiʔn eat; √ʔiʔn; ʔiʔn, ʔiʔn
ʔimš move camp; √ʔimš; ʔimš
ʔitš sleep; √ʔitš; ʔitš, ʔits
ʔiʔn eat PL; √ʔiʔn; ʔiʔn
ʔócqʔ go out; √ʔócqʔ
ʔóʔlqʷ go PL down to the river;
√ʔóʔlqʷeʔ; ʔóʔlqʷeʔ
ʔus+t dive; √ʔus; ʔúst
ʔus+ʔúʔs+t dive PL; √ʔus; ʔusʔúʔs
ʔuʔs+t dive PL; √ʔus; ʔúʔst
3.2 Affixes

This section lists the affixes that occur in the texts. Section 3.2.1 contains prefixes, 3.2.2 contains suffixes, 3.2.3 contains lexical affixes, and 3.2.4 contains infixes. For the entries in each section, the affix is listed in alphabetical order and is followed by its English gloss and then allomorphs and comments, if applicable.

3.2.1 Prefixes

Seven prefixes listed in this section (c-, č-, čɬ-, eɬ-, epɬ-, ɬ-, and s-) ‘NOMINALIZER’) are derivational and, as such, are not analyzed separately in the texts, but they are listed here with the inflectional prefixes due to their frequency and transparent meanings.

**c-** to

**č-** person (with numerals)

**čɬ-** on

**eɬ-** back, again

**epɬ-** POSS; ep-; Vogt note 146 (1940a:50)

**es-** CONT; hec-, ec-, as-, ?es-, esə-, e-, ?as-; continuative and resultative verbal prefix with -i, Vogt note 69 (1940a:28-29)

**es-** CUST; ?asə-, ?asi-; with -st transitivizer

**es-** ACT

**han-** 2SG POSS; an-, a-

**hin-** 1SG POSS; in-, i-, y-

**ɬ-** DIM

**qe?-** FUT; qes-

**qf-** to be; q-, qs-

**qs-** FUT; qə-, q-

**s-** NOM; sə-

**s-** CUST; sə-, si-
3.2.2 Suffixes

Nine of the suffixes listed in this section (–ilš, –lwis, –tumš, –min, –mist, –nun, –(t)n, –um, and –wex) are derivational and, as such, are not analyzed separately in the texts, but they are listed here with the inflectional suffixes due to their frequency and transparent meanings. As mentioned in the introduction, the transitivizers (–t, –nt, –st, and –št) are derivational but are analyzed separately throughout this thesis.

–em 1PL TRANS; –ém; strong form of 1PL TRANS suffix
–em PASS; –ém; strong form of PASSIVE suffix
–en 1SG TRANS; –én; strong form of 1SG TRANS SUFFIX
–ep 2PL TRANS; –ép; strong form of 2PL TRANS SUFFIX
–es 3TRANS; –és; number not specified; strong form of 3TRANS suffix
–eʔs 3PL TRANS; –éʔs
–l CONT; with es– prefix
–i FUT
–ilš motion
–lms 2PL OBJ; –ulams
–ls 1PL OBJ
–lwis around; –luís
–t TR; –t, –ət, –t; possessor
–tumš person; people; –tůmš
–m 1PL TRANS
–m 2SG OBJ; –äm; occurs after –st transitivizer
–m ANTIP; –əm
–m PASS; –äm
–min INSTR; –mi, –mi, –əmí
–mist INTR REFL
–mp 2PL POSS
–n 1SG TRANS; –ən
–nt TR; –ənt, –ən, –n, –t, –i, –í
–nun success; –ənú, –nu
–p 2PL TRANS; –əp
–s 2SG OBJ; –c
\(-s\ 3PL\ OBJ; \ -e\dot{s}\)
\(-s\ 3POSS; \ -c; \ \text{number not specified}\)
\(-s\ 3SG\ OBJ; \ -\text{tes}, \ -t\dot{\text{e}}s\)
\(-s\ 3TRANS; \ -es; \ \text{number not specified}\)
\(-\text{si}\ 2SG\ OBJ; \ -c\dot{i}; \ \text{strong form of 2SG OBJ suffix}\)
\(-\text{st}\ TR; \ -t; \ \text{causative transitivizer}\)
\(-\text{st}\ CUST\)

\(-\dot{s}\ SG\ INTR\ IMP; \ -i\dot{s}\)
\(-\dot{\text{st}}\ TR; \ -\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{st}}, \ -t; \ \text{benefactive transitivizer}\)
\(-t\ 1PL\ TRANS; \ \text{occurs after} \ -m\)
\ (e.g. \ -st\ -m\ -t\ TR-2OBJ-1PL\)
\(-\text{(t)n}\ INST\)
\(-\text{um}\ \text{into}; \ \text{verb forming suffix}\)
\(-\text{wex}^{w}\ \text{RECIP}\)
\(-\text{x}^{w}\ 2SG\ TRANS\)
3.2.3 Lexical Affixes

The first three lexical affixes listed here are prefixes; the rest are suffixes. Glosses for lexical affixes are listed when they could be found, but many lexical affixes do not have clear meanings. Vogt (1940a) refers to these as “field-suffixes” and lists them, with notes and examples, on pages 51-56.

č= person
n= often used in combination with
           =etk" ‘water’
uf= collective; Vogt note 138
       (1940a:48)
=alqs shirt, clothes; -lqs, -qs
=alq" long object, tree, pole
=af
=alq fruit, berry, race, game
=ap
=asqt day, heaven
=a轩n arm, wing
=aʔ?
=cn mouth, lips, tongue, speech, food;
     -cin
=čʔ
=čst hand, finger, work; -čsta,
    -ečst
=élce? room, body; -éčʔ?, -čʔ?
=élp cover; -eʔlp
=els
=elt offspring; -lt
=etx" skin, hide
=enč stomach, wall
=éneʔ ear; -ne?
=ep below, bottom of something; -e, -eʔp
=etk" water; -eʔtk" , -k"
=ews middle; -eʔus, -aws
=eʔ?
=iceʔ all around
=ič
=ičn back
=ix" people
=iʔ
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<td>Tree</td>
<td>Šn Foot</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tumš</td>
<td>People</td>
<td>Tč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ulex&quot; Land, Earth, Ground; -uleʔx&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt</td>
<td></td>
<td>U† To the Extreme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ups Tail, Rump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ot</td>
<td></td>
<td>Us Eye, Face, Fire; -s, -uʔs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qin</td>
<td>Head; -q, -qiń</td>
<td>Usčn Thigh; -uʔsč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Wl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.4 Infixes

This section lists infixes found in the data. -s- is a compound stem connector – technically not an infix – but is listed here for convenience.

- **-s-** *COMP*

- **-ʔ-** *INCH*

- **-ʔ-** *PL*
3.3 List of Roots

Stems whose roots could be determined are listed in this section, arranged by root. The roots are arranged in alphabetical order and given glosses. The stems for which I could not determine roots are not listed in this section. Glosses for roots were taken, for the most part, from the Spokane Dictionary (Carlson et al.), but for many roots no gloss could be determined.

√caq put, placed
   caq placed

√cil/commasuprightnospcil/commasuprightnospcil/commasuprightnospšš šš camp
   c+ciʔl/commasuprightnospš camp PL
   epʔ+c+ciʔlš have camps

√cim oily, greasy
   č+cm+p=els sick from greasy food

√citx house
   citx/wsuper house
   ciʔtx/wsuper house PL

√ciʔ that one
   ciʔ here, that one
   l_ciʔ in here

√cniɬc
   cniɬc 3SG
   cniʔlc 3PL

√cq
   cq+q=us land
   cq+q=uʔs land PL
   čʕ+cq=etkʷ on water
   čʕ+cq=eʔtkʷ onto water PL
   n+cq=us+m look up

√cuw say
   cu say
   cu+n+m say
   cu+t say
   cú+t+i he/she/they said
   cúʔ+t+i say PL

√čan tight
   čn+m tight
   čn+op tight
   čn+p+ma tight

√caq throw
   čq+m throw
   čq+min throw away

√češ bashful
   čeʔeš bashful

√čl/commasuprightnospc/commasuprightnosp c/commasuprightnospc/commasuprightnospan an an an
   tight
   c/commasuprightnospn+m tight
   c/commasuprightnospn+op tight
   c/commasuprightnospn+p+ma tight

√√ √√c/commasuprightnospc/commasuprightnosp c/commasuprightnospc/commasuprightnospaq/apostrophesupnospaq/apostrophesupnospaq/apostrophesupnospaq/apostrophesupnosp
   throw
   c/commasuprightnospq/apostrophesupnosp+m throw
   c/commasuprightnospq/apostrophesupnosp+min throw away

√√ √√c/commasuprightnospc/commasuprightnosp c/commasuprightnospc/commasuprightnospil il il il
   stand
   c/commasuprightnospl=alq/wsuper stick game
   c/commasuprightnospl=alq/wsuper+m play stick game
   eɬ+t+c/commasuprightnospl=álq/wsuper play stick game
   again
   eɬ+t+c/commasuprightnospl=álq/wsuper+m play stick game
   again
   es+n+c/commasuprightnospl=étk/wsuper pole in water
√číp pinch
cíp pinch
√čs used up, consumed
cíp all gone
čs+p+nu all used up
√čwet go after
cwet go after
cwet+m go after INTR
√č? n+či+ilš upstream
√čelš hand
celš hand
√čen where, which
cen do what
cen+m do what INTR
cen where
√če?4ės three
č+če?+če?hė?š three people
če?4ės three
√čic arrive
cic arrive
cič arrive PL
e+cic manage to arrive again
k+cic manage to arrive
s+cic+c+n guest
√čt s+čt+tʌxʌ=ėne? straight above PL
√čmís only, just
cmi only
√čnm blind
čnm=qin blind
√čń grab, touch
t+n+čn=aws=q grab by hair
√čoš shout
čoš+im he shouted
√čw s+čw+cw=aňn arms
√čy čy+či=ě? grandmother
ep+cč+či=ě? have a grandmother
√če če? yet
√čes bad, evil
čes=cín+m bad mouth
√čiţ ep+c+c+c+t have clay
s+čiţ+t clay
√či?4 get close
č+če?i?t near
č+c?i?t+min go near to
či?+če?t near, short distance
e+c+c?i?t+min get close again
e+c+c+i?t back from short distance
√čl s+n+čl=ep coyote
√čluxw disappear
cluxw evening
cluxw+m become evening
√čut half
s+čut half

√čuw empty, quiet, gone
čuw absent
čw+s+qél=ixw go to gamble
čw+s+qéʔl=ixw go to gamble PL
čw+up stop shouting

√ečínt
ečínt+m say what INTR

√hayó
hayó oh my

√hoy finished, all done, completed
eɬ+hóy finish again
hoy then, stop, finished
hoy+hóy stop

√hoý
oý+ncút laugh

√k“ec night, dark
eɬ+k“+kʷʔéc tomorrow night
k“+kʷʔec get dark

√k“en take, grab
k“en take, grab, catch
k“en=él take, grab, catch
k“en+nú manage to catch
k“in+s+qél=ixw grab person

√k“es name
s+k“es+t name
s+k“s+k“eʔs+t name PL

√k“il red, heat
k“il=lqs red shirt

√k“X slip
s+k“X=us face

√k“tun big
k“tun+t big

√k“en
k“en=čst+míst get ready

√k“eň try, test, choose
k“ň=čst+míst+(t)n try by hand

√k“inš several
k“inš=ásqt several days

√k“4
eɬ+k“+čic manage to arrive again
k“+čic manage to arrive
k“+xéʔéč appear
k“+xéʔéč+č appear
k“+paʔx deliberate
k“+tal make rites
k“+yem+m hesitate
k“n+q“om+i leave suddenly

√k“X appear, come out, come off
n+k“uX=ús unplug

√k“ul work, create
k“ul work, create
k“ul+m work INTR
tix“+4+k“úl+mn get tool

√k“uy
s+k“uy mother

√k“yum young, small
4+k“+k“yüm=eʔ small
s+4+k“+k“yüm=eʔ child
√/lap
laáp paddle, travel by boat

√/laq bury, peel
s+láq+i sweat lodge

√/lem glad
lem+t glad

√/lič tie
lč+t tie PL

√/lkʷu far away
lkʷu+t it is far

√/lukʷ stick of wood
lukʷ stick of wood

√/lʔew (man’s) father
epɬ+iɭeu have a father
ɭeu father

√/faχ
s+ľaχt friend
s+iľaχ+láχt friends

√/4aq sit
⁴aɬq+ɬ sit down INCH
⁴áɬqš+ɬš sit down
⁴aɬq+ɬ sit down PL

√/4aqʷ show, be visible
⁴aɬqʷ+m=úɬeʔxʷ come into open space

√/4eʔ close to, next to
n+ɬeʔ=ús+m turn back INTR

√/ič thrash, whip
ič whip

√/4oxʷ opened, hole
⁴oxʷ hole
wý+s+⁴oxʷ finish hole

√/4uʔ stab, pierce
⁴uʔ+mín+tn spear
n=ɬuʔ=étkʷ+m spear in water

√/4oxʷeʔ now, today
⁴iʔeɬ+ɬxʷé today
ýeɬ+ɬxʷá today

√/4oxʷup escape, dash out
n+ɬxʷp+m=ép=uʔsčn escape below thighs

√/Xeč show, be visible
c+Xeʔč+m rise CISLOC
c+Xeč=qин+m stick head through
e⁴+c+Xeč=qин+m stick head through again INTR
epɬ⁴+ɬes+Xeč=qин+m head showing INTR
kʷ⁴+xeʔeč appear
kʷ⁴+xeʔeč+cč appear
X̓+Xčίm=qин stick head up
X̓+Xeč=cn+m stick out tongue
wý+s+X+Xeč=cn+m stuck out tongue

√/Xeʔ look for
Xeʔ+xeʔ=ús look around
Xeʔ+xeʔ=ús+m look around INTR

√/Xil still, unmoving, quiet
c+Xl+p stop
Xil dead, motionless
n+xl=étkʷ drown

√/Xukʷ
s+x+Xukʷ+eʔ pitch wood
√χxʷup
χxʷup win
χxʷuʔp win PL
χxʷuʔp+m win PL INTR
s+c+χxʷuʔp win PL

√χeye? canoe
χiyé? bark canoe

√maʔw break, take apart
maʔw take off PL, break PL

√meʔ? bother, pester
meʔ=éčst=mɬɬ+ls bother people

√miɣ very, a lot, extreme
miɣ too, very

√miɣy know, tell, repeat
miɣ know
miɣ+m know INTR
miɣ+p+nú find out
n+miɣ+ép+m told on

√miɣ bleed, flow
eɬ+m ál bubble again
mal bubble
miɣ+tɬxʷ+miʔ flow straight

√mɬ very, a lot, extreme
miɬ too, very

√miɣy know, tell, repeat
miɣ know
miɣ+m know INTR
miɣ+p+nú find out
n+miɣ+ép+m told on

√miɣ bleed, flow
eɬ+m ál bubble again
mal bubble
miɣ+tɬxʷ+miʔ flow straight

√mɬ very, a lot, extreme
miɬ too, very

√nokʷuʔ? one, once
nkʷ=alqʷ one pole
nkʷ=asqʷ one day
nkʷ=eɬxʷ one house
nkʷuʔ? one

√nokʷ also
nokʷ also

√nokʷ? one, once
nkʷ=alqʷ one pole
nkʷ=asqʷ one day
nkʷ=eɬxʷ one house
nkʷuʔ? one

√nokʷ also
nokʷ also

√nokʷ? one, once
nkʷ=alqʷ one pole
nkʷ=asqʷ one day
nkʷ=eɬxʷ one house
nkʷuʔ? one

√mey̓ʔ show, tell, teach
mey̓̓ tell

√nas wet
naʔás get wet

√neč
s+néč=čeʔ cow elk

√nexʷ also
nexʷ also

√nič cut
n+nič=s cut off head

√nkʷuʔ one, once
nkʷ=alqʷ one pole
nkʷ=asqʷ one day
nkʷ=eɬxʷ one house
nkʷuʔ? one

√nost also
nost also

√nokʷ? one, once
nkʷ=alqʷ one pole
nkʷ=asqʷ one day
nkʷ=eɬxʷ one house
nkʷuʔ? one

√nokʷ also
nokʷ also

√nokʷ? one, once
nkʷ=alqʷ one pole
nkʷ=asqʷ one day
nkʷ=eɬxʷ one house
nkʷuʔ? one

√nokʷ also
nokʷ also

√nokʷ? one, once
nkʷ=alqʷ one pole
nkʷ=asqʷ one day
nkʷ=eɬxʷ one house
nkʷuʔ? one

√nokʷ also
nokʷ also

√nokʷ? one, once
nkʷ=alqʷ one pole
nkʷ=asqʷ one day
nkʷ=eɬxʷ one house
nkʷuʔ? one

√nokʷ also
nokʷ also

√nokʷ? one, once
nkʷ=alqʷ one pole
nkʷ=asqʷ one day
nkʷ=eɬxʷ one house
nkʷuʔ? one

√nokʷ also
nokʷ also

√nokʷ? one, once
nkʷ=alqʷ one pole
nkʷ=asqʷ one day
nkʷ=eɬxʷ one house
nkʷuʔ? one

√nokʷ also
nokʷ also

√nokʷ? one, once
nkʷ=alqʷ one pole
nkʷ=asqʷ one day
nkʷ=eɬxʷ one house
nkʷuʔ? one

√nokʷ also
nokʷ also

√nokʷ? one, once
nkʷ=alqʷ one pole
nkʷ=asqʷ one day
nkʷ=eɬxʷ one house
nkʷuʔ? one

√nokʷ also
nokʷ also

√nokʷ? one, once
nkʷ=alqʷ one pole
nkʷ=asqʷ one day
nkʷ=eɬxʷ one house
nkʷuʔ? one

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nokʷ also

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nkʷ=eɬxʷ one house
nkʷuʔ? one
√pilš enter
   eɬ+n+pilš reenter

√pk*
   es+č+pk*=íčn throw rocks

√pl float, drift in water
   pl+ip drift along

√pɾ thick, dense
   s+pɾ=qin head

√puls kill, fight
   puls kill

√pus
epɾ+s+pʔús decide
   s+pʔus heart, mind, personality

√put put just

√pw
   pw=els=čn buck
   s+pw=al=qn red-headed woodpecker
   uɾ=s+pw=ál=qn red-headed woodpecker and group

√pɾʷ distribute, dole out
   pɾʷ+mn+cut disperse

√pạq shiny, sparkly
   s+pạq+ni sun

√pạyaq ripe, baked, bread
   ṭyạqa cooked, ripe

√pilč turned around, turned over
   eɾ+c+plen=ús turn back
   eɾ+c+plen=ús+m turn back INTR
   pilč=ús+m turn back INTR

√pik bare, uncovered, exposed
   č+pik=čst+m let go of
   pik=čst+m let go

√pin long cylindrical objects on the ground
   n+pin lay in

√pum tan (color)
   pum tan (color)

√pɾʔ stink, fart
   n+pɾʔ=ětk+w+m fart in water
   pɾʔ+ǘm fart
   s+pɾʔ+ǘm fart

√pɾʷut mature, old, wise
   pɾʷ+pɾʷut parents
   pɾʷt+ifš grew up
   pɾʷut parent
   s+pɾʷ+pɾʷut parents, old

√qam
   s+qam+n=lsčút goods

√qc shrink
   s+n+qc=ur† lynx

√qel body, mass
   čw+s+qel=ixʷ go to gamble
   čw+s+qel=ixʷ go to gamble PL
   epɾ+s+qlt+mixʷ have a husband
   kʷin+s+qel=ixʷ grab person
   n+ɾifn+s+qel=ixʷ man-eater
   n+ɾifn+s+qel=ixʷ+tn man-eater
   s+ql+qlt+mixʷ men
   s+qlt+mixʷ man
   tixʷ+s+qel=ixʷ get people
   s+qel=ixʷ people, man
√qeys dream
    qeys dream

√qe? suck, nurse
    s+qe?+m milk

√qe?nplé? we
    qe?nplé? 1PL

√qi+ awaken
    qi+ wake up
    qi+q+t awake
    qi+t awake

√qi wet stand on, step on
    qaluwét+m step INTR

√qmin lay something down
    qmin lay

√qp
    qp=é+cí? dish

√qey live, have camp set up
    es+qey there is a house, people live, camp
    qey build a house

√qe? pinched, squeezed, crowded
    e+qe?=éls+m pay attention
    e+t+n+qe?=ús stick in again

√qil
    es+č+t+q+l+i? lake

√qam swallow, gulp
    qam+qam+íš discuss PL

√qsípi? a long time, a long time ago
    tá_s+qasíp not long

√q*am wonderful
    q*am+q*m+t wonderful

√q*ásq*i? bluejay
    q*ásq*i bluejay

√q*ay blue, green
    q*ay blue

√q*ec warm
    e+t+q*?éc warm again
    s+q+w+q*+c=i? cotton tail rabbit

√q*el talk, give a speech
    q*l+q*el talk
    q*l+q*el+t talk INTR
    wy+s+q*l+q*el+t finish talking

√q*ew drunk, crazy, senseless
    q*ew+w crazy

√q*il cheat
    q*il cheat

√q*im always in a hurry
    q*im+m anxious for, in a hurry

√q*íh ugly, poor, pitiful
    n+q*w*n+m min pity
    q*w+n+q*wín+t poor, pitiful
    q*w+n+q*w+n+s=cí ask for pity

√q*il
    q*w=l=e?p blacken PL

√q*m die PL
    q*w+m+i?p die PL
\[\sqrt{q^w}s\]
\[s+q^ws=e?\,\text{son}\]

\[\sqrt{q^wuy?e\,I,\,me}\]
\[q^wuye?e\,1SG\]

\[\sqrt{q^way\,black}\]
\[q^way\,black\]
\[q^w+q^way\,buffalo\]
\[q^w+y+q^way+st\text{má\,buffalo\,cow}\]

\[\sqrt{q^wet\,carried\,on\,the\,back}\]
\[e+t+q^w+či\,carry\,back\,on\,back\]
\[e+t+q^w+q^wet+m\,carry\,back\,PL\,on\,back\]

\[\sqrt{q^wm}\]
\[e+t+q^w=m=ép+m\,leave\,again\,suddenly\]
\[k^w+n+q^wom+i\,leave\,suddenly\]
\[q^w=m=ép+m\,leave\,suddenly\]

\[\sqrt{q^wuní\,take,\,grab}\]
\[e+t+q^wuní\,take\,back\]

\[\sqrt{sax\,near}\]
\[s+č+sax+m\,near\]
\[s\text{x}=cin\,shore\]

\[\sqrt{sax^w\,split\,in\,little\,pieces}\]
\[sa^x^w\,split\,wood\]

\[\sqrt{sew\,ask}\]
\[sew\,ask\]
\[séw=neʔ\,hear\,something\]
\[sew+núʔmt\,ask\,information\]
\[s+séw=neʔ\,hear\,something\]

\[\sqrt{sewt}\]
\[sewt=k^w\,water\]

\[\sqrt{sic\,new,\,right\,now}\]
\[sic\,finally,\,new\]

\[\sqrt{six^w\,pour}\]
\[n+six^w+uʔ\,pour\]
\[sx^w+six^w=lt\,child\]
\[tix^w+sx^w+six^w=lt\,have\,a\,child\]

\[\sqrt{sul\,cold}\]
\[súʔit\,cold\]

\[\sqrt{sux^w\,know,\,understand,\,recognize}\]
\[sux^w\,know,\,understand,\,recognize\]
\[súx^w=meʔ\,measure\]

\[\sqrt{swet\,who}\]
\[swet\,who\]

\[\sqrt{sy\,smart,\,able,\,industrious}\]
\[si+siy=ús\,smart\]

\[\sqrt{syen\,count\,out\,loud}\]
\[syen\,count\]

\[\sqrt{šenš\,stone}\]
\[s+šenš\,stone\]

\[\sqrt{šin\,accompany}\]
\[č+šin\,follow\]
\[č+šin+min\,go\,with\]
\[e+t+č+šin\,follow\,back\]
\[e+t+č+šin+ím\,follow\,back\,INTR\]

\[\sqrt{šit\,stand\,upright}\]
\[s+n+šit=etk^w\,stand\,in\,water\]
\[šit\,make\,it\,stand\]

\[\sqrt{šl\,chop}\]
\[ep+t+šil+min\,have\,axe\]
√šlč **turn, circle, rotate**

eɬ+šilč+mn+cút **turn self around**

√šx’ **straight**

šx=us+m **look around**

√šx’ **beat in a competition, win**

šx+ip **lose**

šx+ip=áɬq **win**

šx+ip+m **lose INTR**

šx+ip+nú **win**

šx+ip+núʔ **win PL**

√šyus **pass by, take a route**

šyus+t **pass**

šyuʔ **pass by PL**

√ta **no**

ta **NEG**

√taf

kʷt+taf **make rites**

√tam **not**

qs+tam **definitely not**

tam **not**

√tče’y **urinate**

tče’y **penis**

√tem **thing**

s+teʔ **thing**

teʔ+s+tém **possession**

√teš33 **stand**

téš+ilš **stand up**

√tew **little**

ɬ+t+tw+it **young boy**

√ti4

s+ti4+m **boat**

s+tiʔ4+m **boat PL**

√tixʷ **get, obtain**

sc+tixʷ **gathered stuff**

tixʷ **obtain**

tixʷ+q+úl+mn **get tool**

tixʷ+m **obtain INTR**

tixʷ+s+qél=ixʷ **get people**

tixʷ+s+ixʷ+sxʷ **have a child**

√tkʷʔu **walk PL**

tkʷʔut **walk**

√tfq **kick**

n+tf+tfq=ap+ncút **jump around**

s+tfq+em **dance**

tfq+em **dance INTR**

√toxʷ **straight**

čitɬ_xʷá_n+txʷ=qín **past noon**

č+taxʷ+l+mncút+m **go up to**

ml+txʷ+mi+t **flow straight**

n+txʷ=qín **noon**

s+čNarrated+txʷ=éneʔ **straight above PL**

s+txʷ+toxʷ+t **straight**

txʷ+toxʷ+t **straight**

√tuʔ **stuffed, crowded**

tuʔ **crowd**

√tyaʔ

s+tye **caribou**

√tyeš **creep, crawl**

c+n+tyeš **crawl towards**

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33 The Spokane Dictionary (Carlson et al.) lists the root as √tešilš; it is analyzed here as root √teš with derivational suffix of motion +ilš
\sqrt{\text{teye}} \ bad, ornery
\text{teye} \ bad

\sqrt{\text{tl}}
\ s+tl+tl=aʔ+m \ thunder

\sqrt{\text{tloq}} \ run from danger
\text{tloq} \ run away, escape, gush

\sqrt{\text{tp}} \ upright \ PL, standing up \ PL
\ c+tp+p \ standing up \ PL

\sqrt{\text{tēk}} \ come out, rise to the top, emerge
\text{č}4+tk''+k''=etk'' \ come to surface of water
\text{e}4+teʔék'' \ resurface \ INCH

\sqrt{\text{tuk}} \ set down, laid down
\ c+tk''+ncut \ lie down
\text{č}+tk''=ep+m \ put by side
\text{č}+tk''+k''=eʔlp+m \ put up camp \ PL
\text{e}4+\text{tuk}''+št+wěx'' \ place bet again \ RECP
\text{tk}''+ncut \ lie down
\text{tk}''+uk'' \ fall over
\text{tuk}'' \ lie down, fall over
\text{tuk}''+št+wěx'' \ place bet \ RECP

\sqrt{\text{tul}} \ earth, dirt, ground
\ s+tũl=ix'' \ ground

\sqrt{\text{we}} \ call, shout
\text{we} \ shout

\sqrt{\text{wič}} \ see
\ t+wič \ see coming
\ t+wičʔč \ see coming \ PL
\ wič \ see
\ wič+m \ see \ INTR
\ wičʔč+m \ see \ PL \ INTR

\sqrt{\text{wis}} \ high up
\ s+n+\text{wis} \ early morning
\ wis=šn \ long
\ ?ec+s+\text{wiš} \ stand \ SG

\sqrt{\text{wiý}} \ finish
\ wý \ finish
\ wý=cin \ weetseen
\ wý=ečst \ finish
\ wý+s+ʔel+ʔin \ finish eating
\ wý+s+\text{čx}'' \ finish hole
\ wý+s+iʔum \ finish moving
\ wý+s+q''l+q''el+t \ finish talking
\ wý+s+\text{čx}+čeč=cn+m \ stuck out tongue

\sqrt{\text{wl}} \ burn
\ es=wl=úś \ fireplace
\ s+wl=ši \ fire

\sqrt{\text{wnex}}^{34} \ yes
\ n+\text{wnex}''=éneʔ \ believe

\sqrt{\text{wup}} \ hairy, fuzzy
\ s+wup=úleʔx'' \ grass

\sqrt{\text{wý}} \ beautiful, handsome
\ s+wý+numt+i \ beautiful
\ s+wý+wý+numt+i \ beautiful

\sqrt{\text{we\text{wi}}} \ fish
\ s+we\text{wi} \ fish

\sqrt{\text{x\text{ey}}} \ animal
\ x''\text{ey}+x''\text{ey}=ú\text{t} \ animal

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^{34} \text{The Spokane Dictionary (Carlson et al.) lists the root as } \sqrt{\text{unex}}'', \text{ but the glottal stop does not occur in the stem or in cognate roots in other Salishan languages. The entry in Vogt’s dictionary is unéx''}. 
√x"ičš give
eɬ+x"ič give back
x"ič give

√x"ist walk SG
n+x"ist=élče? walk in the room
x"ist walk
x"st+lwis walk around

√x"l whittle
x"li+m whittle INTR

√x"t run, arise
č+x"t+p+min jump on
č+x"t+p+m+s+qél=ix" rush at
eɬ+č+x"t+p+min jump on again
x"t+ili get up
x"tip run

√x"uy go
c+x"uy come
č+x"uy+mn go up to
eɬ+c+x"úy come again
eɬ+x"úy go back
x"uy go
x"úy go PL
x"y+x"uy go PL

√xal be light, be clear
xalíp morning

√xaq pay
xaq+mn pay

√xc gamble
xc+xc+iʔm gamble PL

√xc get dressed, get ready
xc+mn+cut ready
xc+num+tn clothing

√xc partners, companions
s+xc+xc+ut companions

√xect dig roots
xect dig roots

√xel fear, be afraid
n+xeɬ be afraid
n+xlil+min get scared

√xes good
č+xs=icε? well-dressed
s+xsas=lqs moose
xes+t good

√xeʔn warn, caution, forbid
xeʔn forbid

√xlit invite
xalit ask, invite
xalit+m ask INTR

√xm like, love
xam=énč love
xam=eʔnč love PL

√xa=a maybe
x=a maybe

√xeʔl
s+xeʔl camas in ground

√xeɬ for
xeɬ because, for

√xeq=ew= divide
√√xʷʔey laugh PL
č+xʷa+xʷeʔ+ey+mín laugh PL
xʷa+xʷeʔ+éy laugh

√√yal round
č+yl+yal=s+m look at with big eyes

√√yaʔ gathered, accumulated
e+/yʔá go back
e+/yʔáʔp arrive again PL
es+n+yʔ+áp forever
es+yʔa+p=qín+i powwow
es+yʔa+ every
yap=qín powwow
yaʔa+m+iʔš gather PL
yʔaʔp arrive PL

√√yeʔ worry
kʷ'+yem+m hesitate

√√yilkʷ rub in a circular motion, wind
yilkʷ rub

√√yixʷm cold weather
č+t+yixʷm=ús be cold all over

√√yixʷ covet, envy
č+t+yʔxʷ+t+m envy PL

√√yoʔ strong
yo'+yo'+scút hard

√√yoʔ learn
yoʔ learn

√yuć
ep+t+yúc+mn have red paint
yuć+mн red paint

√√ʔacx watch, look at
e+/es+t+n+ʔacx=étkʷ+m look back in water
s+ʔacx look
t+ʔacx look over at
ʔacx look
ʔacx+m look INTR

√ʔanwi you
anwiʔ 2SG

√ʔaw name, say aloud, read
ʔaw+ʔáʔaw say aloud PL

√ʔaxíl be a certain way, do a certain way
aʔaʔx=tő+m work PL INTR
e+ʔaʔx like
ʔaxíl do, be a certain way, do a certain way

√ʔayxʷ tired
ʔayxʷ+t get tired

√ʔe here
ʔe here

√ʔelf try, test, experiment with
e+t+el try again

√ʔem man
s+m+ʔem woman

√ʔemút sit SG, stay SG, be at home SG
ʔemút sit, be home

35 I analyze =us as a lexical suffix here but in the Spokane Dictionary (Carlson et al.) =us is included as part of the root √yixʷmus.
√?enwén feel, sense
?enwén+m sense INTR
√?esél two
č+?esél two
ʔesél two
√?ewt
ʔewt=úʔs their opponent
√?iɬn eat
č+ʔiɬn+nkʷ=ét+cʔʔ eat one
e+c+ʔiɬn eat again
+c+ʔiɬn eat DIM
n+ʔiɬn+s+qél=ixʷ man-eater
n+ʔiɬn+s+qél=ixʷ+tn man-eater
qs+ʔiɬn food
sc+ʔiɬn food
wŷ+s+ʔél+ʔiɬn finish eating
ʔel+ʔiɬn eat PL
ʔiɬn eat
ʔiɬn eat PL
√?imš move
ʔimš move camp
√?itš sleep, asleep
ʔet+c+ʔitš sleep PL
√?ocqe? go out
e+c+ʔocqe? go out again
ʔocqe? go out
√?olqʷ assist
olqʷ+s+scút+n helper
√?olqʷe? go down toward the water
ʔolqʷe? go PL down to the river
√?úkʷu bring, take
c+ʔúkʷu bring
√?úqyʷ enter, go in
e+c+ʔúqyʷ go back in
n+ʔúqyʷ go in
√?ús dive
e+c+ʔús+miʔ dive again
es+c+ʔús+t dive PL
ʔús+t dive
ʔús+s+t dive PL
ʔuʔs+t dive PL
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